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New Republic

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"They wouldn't let us break up German Cartels..."

by James S. Martin,
former Decartelization Chief, U. S. Military Government in Germany

WE MUST RATION FOOD—by Henry Wallace

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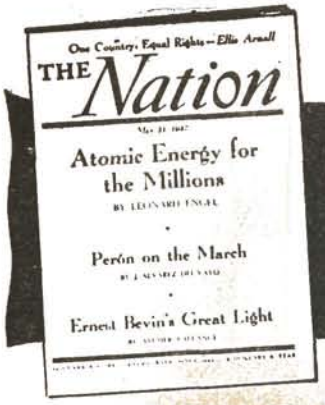
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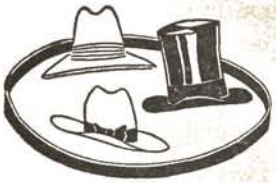

That depends partly on you—on your ability to see behind the smoke screens to the real issues. *The smoke screens are already being laid.* To help you distinguish the fire from the smoke, the real from the apparent, the intent from the pretense, The Nation has a corps of top-notch analysts covering every move in this momentous pre-election build-up. Reporting regularly on the campaign as a whole is The Nation's chief political analyst, ROBERT BENDINER, whose articles on the last Congressional campaign were discussed and reprinted throughout the country.

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New Republic

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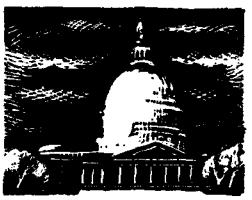
Washington Wire

Impeach Truman?

A RELUCTANT President met with reluctant leaders of Congress this Monday and put the burden of responsibility for the next step in world affairs on his Secretary of State. Nobody wants a special session; the only point is that if large-scale stop-gap assistance isn't sent quickly to Italy, France and maybe Britain, all hell will probably break loose in Western Europe.



The State Department feels this so acutely that goose pimples break out on its back every time it thinks of it; the question has been whether Marshall could communicate this feeling to politicians, who would much rather not be bothered. In a crisis of this sort the theory is that the President and Congress act together; each of them has a veto power over the other. It is pretty hard for political leaders who are just about to tear each other apart in a presidential election to act together, and it is pretty hard for them to approve more big sums for foreign aid when the domestic accent is all on economy.

Truman is understood to feel that he could probably raise the billion or so needed for stop-gap aid by a little extra-legal juggling of funds of other agencies, but he could probably be impeached for doing it. If the Republicans promise not to impeach him, that may be the path followed. Otherwise the alternatives seemed to be: (a) call a special session around December, limited to stop-gap aid; or (b) do nothing and let Europe go to pot. The Republicans naturally hated to stick their necks out by attending the White House meeting, but they must share responsibility for whatever comes.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN wore a four-in-hand tie, instead of his customary bow, at his press conference last week. Otherwise, matters did not seem greatly changed since his trip. The circular study was hot and fetid as 200 reporters squeezed into it, and heard about the voluntary save-food campaign. Practically every reporter there had written in advance that such a program would be undertaken. The Truman statement came as no surprise. The question really was, How much oomph could Truman put into the campaign? The President spoke with honest feeling and good will. He read a long statement in a strained voice that perceptibly cracked once or twice as he proceeded. With genuine feeling he told questioners that the United States wouldn't let the world starve and that voluntary aid would be forthcoming. But when it was all over and reporters dashed to White House telephones, all they could report on looking through their notes was that the President had named another food committee and that he didn't favor a special session—not if it could be avoided.

BOB TAFT has announced that we have "lost the peace." Well, that settles that. The Taft foreign-affairs speech at Tacoma is a longish way from his former isolationism, but pretty unsatisfactory to many at that. It seems about halfway between Colonel Robert R. McCormick of the Chicago *Tribune* and Mrs. Ogden Reid of the New York *Herald Tribune*. A passing commendation of General Douglas MacArthur deserves to be filed for reference under Significant Hints. One thing Taft is sure of—he's against communism.

It is our information that General Eisenhower has the presidential bug pretty badly. There is probably more discussion of him now going on than of any other candidate. A lot of correspondents who went out with Taft are coming back to write about Eisenhower. National magazines are con-

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what's ahead in '48?

¶ In just 11 more weeks will be ushered in the big year of ballyhoo . . . of the conventions, the campaign and later the election in a momentous presidential contest like that of 1920.

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New Republic

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tracting for pieces about him in a big way. You can see he's taken seriously, since Colonel McCormick is already gunning for him. (There's a *Tribune* rumor that Ike is a Red and believes in international coöperation.)

THE NAM, with the unmitigated gall that is one of its most endearing characteristics, has just denied, through its weekly publication, that it ever promised prices would go down if the OPA were killed. Being less polite than this column, it charges that those who challenge the correctness of its predictions last year are uttering "sheer nonsense" or "bare-faced lies." We confess this leaves us relatively speechless. Was it all a mistake then? All the NAM did was to buy full-page advertisements in all the nation's newspapers (which were only too anxious to go along), promising that if the OPA were killed, "prices will quickly adjust themselves." They adjusted themselves all right, and how!

Now the NAM declares that it never said those things and never bought that advertising space. We modestly suggest that the NAM launch a new campaign. Using its own inimitable style, let it declare that that first bunch of ads were just an illusion, that controls are still in effect, that butter is 40 cents a pound.

NOTES. – Corporation profits still soar: the Federal Reserve Board keeps tabs on large industrial corporations on a quarterly basis—at the end of the half-year in 1946 their net profits were $366 million; this year they are $863 million, or as large for six months as for the whole year of 1942. . . . The meat ration in Britain has been reduced to one shilling's worth (20 cents) a week, which makes the American situation seem somewhat better. . . . The State Department is shopping around among correspondents for a successor to William Benton to head the Voice of America, so far without success; few reporters want Congress as their managing editor. . . . Putting labor pickets around Bob Taft may be good fun, but the feeling here is it's bad politics.

Washington T. R. B.

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New Republic

VOLUME 117, NUMBER 14, ISSUE 1714, NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 6, 1947

News in Focus

Mopping-Up Operation

THE strongest remaining pocket of New Dealism is about to be wiped out. Time after time in the last year, the Democratic National Committee has taken the liberal side in Administration battles, and progressives surprisingly have come to regard chairman Bob Hannegan and his right-hand man, Gael Sullivan, as among their most reliable friends at court.

Sullivan and Hannegan fought against dropping Wilson Wyatt and housing controls and for vetoing instead of signing the portal-pay bill. If they had had their way, Truman would have opened the United Nations Assembly the other day instead of Marshall, and with a speech that would have reopened the door to conciliation instead of closing it more firmly.

If a special session of Congress is called to provide European relief, it will have been at least partially at these politicians' urging. And they helped stiffen the President's spine on crucial occasions—such as when he finally decided to veto the Taft-Hartley anti-labor bill.

When Bob Hannegan's doctor told him that he must give up the chairmanship, Hannegan made every effort to get the job for Sullivan. A large majority of the members of the Democratic National Committee lined up behind Sullivan too. But the President's personal pals, John Snyder, Harry Vaughan and Clinton Anderson, were determined that the new chairman should be closer to their own conservative position than Sullivan. They won.

Senator J. Howard McGrath (D, R. I.) under the circumstances seems a fortunate choice. As Governor of Rhode Island he supported President Roosevelt's policies and served ably as Solicitor General of the United States. This past year in the Senate, his votes have been generally progressive. He will not be a rubber stamp for Anderson and Snyder. But the job of chairman of the Democratic National Committee is crucial today, and a real crusading spirit is as important as a good point of view.

It will be up to the chairman to kindle real enthusiasm among labor and independent progressives if the Democrats are to win in 1948, and that job obviously calls for excessive zeal. McGrath is not likely to bring this extra quality to the task. By-passing Gael Sullivan may prove to be a major Truman error.

"Me Neither"

FOR the past 15 years it has been said that the Republican platform has consisted of promising to do the things the New Deal was doing, only better. But Bob Taft's speech at Seattle changed all that.

Taft said the GOP would do the same things in foreign affairs as the Democrats, only worse. The GOP would continue to work with the UN, only less so. The GOP will try to get along with Russia, but won't try so hard. The GOP would see to it that Germany doesn't build a war machine, but won't be as tough about it. Ditto Japan. The GOP would continue economic aid to the rest of the world, but less of it.

There was one exception—Taft wants a bigger and ever bigger Army and Navy.

Sears, Roebuck & Co.

ANOTHER US businessman who wants to rebuild Germany's industrial plant along its prewar lines has moved into a top post in the Truman Administration. He is Arthur S. Barrows, former president of Sears, Roebuck, named Undersecretary of the Air Force. As the import-export chief in the combined US-British occupation zones in Germany (see "Germany's Cartels Are At It Again," page 13), Barrows tried to liquidate Germany's "small, inefficient industries" and concentrate all production in "large, efficient" plants, *i.e.*, those belonging to the big industrialists who helped Adolf Hitler to power.

Bland, Silent Joe

DENVER (by *NR* correspondent Roscoe Fleming).—Speaker "Smiling Joe" Martin is a follower of the political tactics of Calvin Coolidge, save that where Coolidge said nothing as bluntly as possible, Martin says it as blandly as possible.

In the morning paper he was quoted as saying: "If General Eisenhower says he is a Republican I certainly will accept his word." This nice way of saying nothing was headlined "Martin Hints He'd Like to Have Ike on Ticket." Then the fun began. Martin's secretary, James Milne, and Martin's local impresario, E. D. Nicholson, regional Pooh-bah for United Airlines, apparently got much more excited about it than he.

Martin had a press conference scheduled the next morning. Milne canceled this. Then, at squawks from the local press, he reinstated it. As usual, all the questions and answers were bland.

In the afternoon at 3 p.m. Martin

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DISCRIMINATION

When Europe pleads
Her pressing needs
To earn US relief—
All nations beg a dollar loan or all
will come to grief—
But few appear
To have the ear
Of Wall St. Banking *cliques*
But the Germans
And the Japanese,
The Italians
And the Greeks.

There used to be
Such unity
In English-speaking states
That democratic sentiments brought
lower interest rates;
Our dear Ally,
(We know not why)
Now far more kindly speaks
To the Germans
And the Japanese,
The Italians
And the Greeks.

She calls a halt
When we default
On dollar payments due,
She cancels our priority and makes
us join the queue
An also-ran
For the Marshall Plan,
She holds us up for weeks—
Not the Germans
Or the Japanese,
The Italians
Or the Greeks.

Another act
Like the Lease-Lend Pact
Would save us from collapse
If Britons were Bavarians, or else
MacArthur's Japs—
For who have won
From Washington
The aid that Britain seeks?
The Germans
And the Japanese,
The Italians
And the Greeks.

Our dollar aid
Will not be paid
Till Congress votes the sums—
While we like hungry sparrows
cheep for charitable crumbs—
The crumbs don't fall
Alike on all
But fill the gaping beaks
Of the Germans
And the Japanese,
The Italians
And the Greeks.

SAGITTARIUS

Permission New Statesman and Nation

had a date to record an interview at Jack Fitzpatrick's Station KFEL. When that hour arrived, Martin wasn't to be found.

According to Milne, nobody had told Martin that the program was to be spontaneous and unrehearsed; he thought he was going to be able to screen the questions, and when he found out he wasn't, "he had other engagements." Said Milne: "Mr. Martin is the second highest man in the country. . . . I'm sure President Truman wouldn't submit to that kind of program." Nicholson was more forthright. He was quoted as saying Martin shouldn't have to answer "Democratic questions" over the air. Anyway Martin didn't. He said nothing as blandly as possible before the Kiwanis Club and at the University of Colorado.

Bob Taft hasn't been in Denver yet. They say he revised his itinerary after hearing what happened to Tom Dewey here.

The Nazis Had a Name

IN Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy it was called forced residence. In the US it hasn't any name—not yet at any rate—but Pierre Courtade, UN correspondent for *L'Humanité* of Paris, knows that it exists just the same.

If Courtade should walk across the George Washington Bridge or travel with the Freedom Train, he would be liable to arrest, detention and deportation. To get his visa to cover the UN session for his paper, the official Communist organ in France, he had to swear away his right to travel in the US outside New York City, Lake Success and Flushing Meadow.

The restrictions on his movements were imposed by the State Department apparently on the theory that if Courtade stepped on US soil—the sidewalks of New York excepted—he might overthrow the government by force.

Courtade accepted the forced residence without protest, but pointed out that correspondents of all political suasions who covered the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris were allowed to travel anywhere in France.

Business As Usual

REMEMBER the Newburyport Plan? Stores in the Massachusetts town that once started the 10-percent price cutback to fight inflation now sell sirloin steak at 89 cents a pound, a dozen eggs for 95 cents. And only one market window still features the little banners with the legend "Newburyport Lowers Prices—We Are Coöperating." Remember?

Under-the-Bed Fellows

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has met the world food crisis by crawling under the bed with Senator Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio). It isn't even necessary for Americans to "eat less" to aid hungry Europeans, the President says. All we have to do is just "waste less."

Many of the members of the special Citizens' Food Committee Truman has appointed to lead the campaign for conservation know better. For one, Chester Davis, chairman of the earlier Famine Emergency Committee, has repeatedly told various of the presidential advisers that voluntary rationing never worked during the war and will not do the job now. The White House is privately hoping that the Citizens' Committee under the young businessman Charles Luckman will demand stronger measures and thus take the political heat off Truman.

Meanwhile, Truman is waiting for someone to come up with a plan to solve the European food crisis without first getting from Congress (1) large new appropriations and (2) safety brakes against more inflation at home.

Most objective economists believe that it would be dangerous for the US to increase food exports to Europe without establishing allocation and price controls to hold the inflation line in this country. In the face of mounting pressure in the country for a return to some form of price control and rationing, Truman's cabinet stands almost unanimously against it. Probably even Secretary of Agriculture Anderson, who favors sending Europe less as a way of holding down prices, is for control of grain-margin requirements. For 90 minutes last week

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he asked the New York and Chicago market heads for their "voluntary cooperation" on upping margin requirements, and for 90 minutes they said no.

Obviously there is no way to get the funds for European relief and the power needed to control inflation except from a special session of Congress. But timidity and vacillation are living at the White House at the moment.

Furuno's Garden

THE pilots and crews of the US planes that atom-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki saw cities vanish beneath them. But they never realized that the same bombs which caused this mass destruction also carried within them the seeds of growth, which may some day go far to solve the world's food problems. Now a Japanese scientist, Takeo Furuno, announces that the harvest of beans, tomatoes, pumpkins, cucumbers, and even cotton, on his experimental farm at Nagasaki, has exceeded all previous crop yields for the area by 50 to 300 percent.

Furuno's account of a garden that flourishes in a graveyard indicated that Nagasaki's radioactive soil is somehow responsible for the phenomenal crop. But while US agriculturists and atomic scientists were still puzzling over Furuno's story, from New York came solid proof that radioactive substances have been paralleling in the US the miracles which are taking place in Furuno's little plot.

Boris Pregel, president of the Canadian Radium and Uranium Corporation, declares that agricultural experimentation with radioactive substances over a period of 30 years has convinced him that small amounts of such compounds may be able to increase US food crops almost 50 percent overnight. As proof, he reveals that activated plots at an experimental farm near Nyack, New York, have produced as much as 53 percent more than adjacent fields which have not been so treated. Yield was not only considerably greater on the activated plots, Pregel says, but the plants (leaf lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, peppers, carrots, beans and peas) were larger, heavier, ripened more rapidly, were more resistant to weather and even tasted better.

The radioactive compound, as yet unnamed, used in Pregel's experiments is so potent that only from one-billionth to one ten-billionth of a gram is needed to activate two and a quarter pounds of soil. Radium is present in the compound, but only in extremely minute quantities—10 parts radium to 10 trillion parts of other substances. "Radioactive substances are not fertilizers in themselves," Pregel says, "but when added to fertilizer,

The 16-Nation Report and the Fear of Socialism

HIDDEN in the Marshall Plan report from Paris is evidence of the too-often ignored fact that Europe already has done a good deal to help itself since the war. A popular view in the US press is of Europe as a morass of socialism where no one works very much because he can't earn much money and, if he does, he can't buy anything with it.

In the comprehensive program drawn up by 16 nations at Paris are hints that socialism has meant among other things a lot of hard work. Luxembourg, for instance, has made itself 90-percent self-sufficient in food despite devastation from the Battle of the Bulge. French coal production of 51 million tons will be three million above 1938 production. And Britain, where the Tory howls are loudest about labor strangling business, is producing only 500,000 tons less than its prewar peak in crude steel.

All of which doesn't mean the Europeans have been above reproach in organizing their postwar economies, but does mean that the Paris conferees could have done a considerably better job of press-agenting their own accomplishments, particularly since talk about shiftless European beggars is sure to be heard in Congress soon.

Whether the fate of the Marshall Plan is decided in special or regular session of Congress, the matter of European self-help will rank second as a determining factor only to America's ability to produce and export without disrupting the domestic economy.

ON the face of it, the European request for $1,100 million worth of goods next year seemed a bit stiff. That includes steel, coal, lumber, mining machinery and fertilizer. But a report given to President Truman by Commerce Secretary W. Averell Harriman holds that all these quotas can be met comfortably, with the sole exception of fertilizers.

Europe asks approximately five million tons of steel next year, slightly less than this year's exports. Her coal needs are 40 million tons, almost precisely the expected annual increase in our coal production in 1947. In the machinery division, where mining equipment is the primary need, manufacturers say they probably can fill the demand.

Only in fertilizers, one of Europe's most desperate needs, is trouble expected. United States farmers themselves will want about one million tons more than the 17 million to be produced, and with corn, wheat and hog prices astronomical, US farmers will be willing to bid high for all the fertilizer available. Government experts believe the only way to meet the situation will be some sort of manufacturers' allocations, earmarking a percentage of production for export even though the farm lobby yells bloody murder.

Farmers' protests are only one of the headaches facing the Administration on the Marshall program. Already State Department officials, both minor and major, are taking to the stick to drum up popular support for the loans program. But the Administration is going to need a lot more than press agentry to keep the Marshall Plan from becoming the greatest political football ever seen.

Footnote. – Gravely the 16 nations reported, "This need for nitrogen fertilizer is much greater than prewar because stable manure has been less rich in plant nutrient." Due to socialism, no doubt.

WILLIAM WALTON

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they activate it and bring about earlier maturity of plants."

To a world struggling against hunger, this story which grew in Furuno's garden was the best news in a long time.

Red-Baiters Baited

BOSTON (by *NR* correspondent Len de Caux).—"Union Split on Red Issue" blared the front-page screamer of the Boston *Globe*. But the plain fact was that the CIO's third largest union, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, refused to be split on the "Red issue."

Instead, the delegates rejected a minority resolution sponsored by James B. Carey, who claimed that "the infiltration of the Communist Party . . . is the issue before the union." The delegates then adopted a resolution that declared: "The membership controls this union and will continue . . . to defeat every effort to bring it under the domination of any group, whether it be political, religious, fraternal or any other. This union guarantees to every member all rights and privileges of membership, including the right to hold any position in the union."

By a series of overwhelming votes, ranging in some cases up to six to one, the delegates of 600,000 workers—a 28-percent increase over last year, bringing the total higher than the wartime peak—went strongly on record against war scares, Red scares, Red-baiting, union disruption in the name of phony anti-Red drives, loyalty orders, un-American-activities committees, the Taft-Hartley Act and its abuses both by the government and by business, domestic reaction generally and imperialistic foreign policies.

One of the highlights of the convention was a report by Russ Nixon, UE Washington representative, that the Truman loyalty order is being applied not only to government employees but also to workers in privately owned industrial plants as a means of purging men suspected of independent thinking and to interfere with union affairs. He said a War Department order limited workers in some departments of the RCA plant in Camden to men approved by the federal government and denied union officers and stewards the right to enter these departments.

At the Baltimore plant of Westinghouse Electric, Nixon reported, a union member was fired without explanation on orders from the War and Navy Departments. At the Sylvania Electric plant in Kew Gardens, New York, a union steward was barred by the Navy Department. At the Sperry Gyroscope plant in Long Island City, New York, a "reign of intimidation" was going on. Workers and their neighbors, Nixon said, were being asked by government investigators how they classified themselves politically, how they voted in union elections, what they thought about Henry Wallace and if they read the *New Republic*.

In the case of John Leto, local union president at the RCA Camden plant, War Department officials in Washington refused to give any explanation, said there was no procedure for appeal. Nixon quoted an official as saying it was policy to refuse work or access to work in classified departments to persons "affiliated with Communists or Communistic activities." Another high official in Washington told Nixon this was only the start of a campaign to carry the FBI and War and Navy Intelligence into every industrial plant in the country.

The convention demanded that the "federal government immediately stop helping the bosses fight the labor movement, and cease its Gestapolike and insulting inquisitions of thought control of our members and leaders." With $70,000 already raised in the voluntary dollar drive for the PAC, the convention devoted much of its attention to mobilizing for political action. Its resolution on the subject called for "the creation of an independent political force answerable to no boss or machine, and responsive only to the will of the rank and file," and continued:

"Wherever the major parties fail to bring forth candidates who will act and fight on behalf of the people, we shall use the independent political force we are building to support independent progressive candidates. We will build this independent strength with a view to the ultimate creation of a new People's Political Party representative of the working people in the factories, shops and farms, and their allies."

Albert J. Fitzgerald was reëlected president by 3,941 to 493 votes, increasing his lead over Harry Block, district council president for Philadelphia and one of the leaders of the "anti-Red" group. The convention called on the membership in the locals to "repudiate" the Block-Carey forces and "drive them out of leadership and, if they persist in their disruption, to drive them out of the union."

Moving Day

THE prefabricated home does not appear to be quite the answer to the housing shortage—at least not in Argentina. A Buenos Aires family returned from a three-day vacation to find their bungalow and elegant little privy missing. Neighbors said that several men, claiming they were remodeling the buildings, dismantled them one night and drove off with all the pieces.

Workers of the Word . . .

MOSCOW (by wireless from Alexander Kendrick).—Readers of the usually sedate, sometimes pedantic, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* received something new and different starting with the September 20 issue. Note the date. It coincides with the opening of the UN General Assembly meeting and the speech of Deputy Foreign Minister Vishinsky assailing "warmongers" in the US.

The leading article was an open letter from 12 of the Soviet Union's most prominent writers addressed to the writers of the US, putting the question that Gorky once asked: "What side are you on, masters of culture?" In the name of Emile Zola, who wrote *J'Accuse*, and Leo Tolstoy, who wrote "I cannot remain silent," the Soviet writers demanded that their American colleagues should cease being silent while "fascist ideas" are being "shouted" in the name of the American people, and while actual warfare

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is going on in Greece, China and Indonesia with what it called "American connivance."

It contained the by now well publicized attack on President Truman—"apostle of Wall Street . . . clerk of American imperialism . . . little man looking for a boss"—by the novelist Boris Gorbatov, whose best book is *The Ordinary Arctic.* Alexander Korneichuk, author of *Mr. Perkins' Mission to the Land of the Soviets,* wrote an article about his own visit to the land of the Americans and about the letters he kept getting from the US Department of Justice ordering him to register as a foreign agent. There was also a pleasant piece about the congressional hearings on the Howard Hughes affair as the prototype of US culture and morals.

A second issue of *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (incidentally now semi-weekly instead of weekly) was even more provocative. Under a front-page photograph of smiling Vishinsky and the headline, "The common people of the world applaud Vishinsky," David Zaslavsky, *Pravda's* chief feuilletonist, demanded that President Truman and Secretary Marshall be clapped into jail as "warmongers" and "criminal offenders." In the same issue Vsevolod Vishnevsky found that General Eisenhower has been speaking "with the voice of Hearst and Hitler." Nikolai Pogodin, author of the play, "Kremlin Chimes," devoted nearly three columns to Marshall as "the Shylock from Wall Street." Wanda Wassilewsky, author of *The Rainbow,* found a pot of invective for Ernst (sic) Bevin. Ilya Ehrenburg turned his back on the culture of "Hiroshima and Bikini, of lynchings, of the Ku Klux Klan, of oil kings and anti-labor laws."

Just as in 1937, they are writing about war and fascism, but this time it is the US and not Nazi Germany which is the "warmonger." Ehrenburg, Simonov, Garbatov, Katayev do their pieces about the US as if they were filing copy from the war fronts again. Boris Efimov does his cartoons about Marshall and "the atom-bomb boys" as if they were intended for Tass windows.

Literaturnaya Gazeta is the organ of the Union of Soviet Writers. The 12 who signed the open letter include Sholokhov, Leonov, Fedin, Fadayev and the poet Alexander Tvardovsky, in addition to those already mentioned. They are the union's most prominent and influential members. The transformation of the gazette into a "social-political" newspaper and the manifesto of the 12 are reflections of what Soviet writers consider a serious situation. They may be the forerunner of new coalitions in international literature, perhaps of new themes, just as in the thirties. In an editorial in the first number entitled "Writers and Life," the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* dedicated itself to the task of "mobilizing public opinion of the whole world against the contemporary warmongers, against the bourgeois theories of race superiority and domination, so widely disseminated by the American fascists, directed by the Truman policies."

New Assignment

VALLEY CITY, North Dakota, again has a "respectable" newspaper—*i.e.,* one acceptable to local businessmen who disapprove of editorials which boost farm co-ops, labor unions and Henry Wallace. An advertising boycott by Valley City merchants (the *NR,* May 5) has succeeded in forcing editor Don Matchan to resign his position on the Valley City *Times-Record* and sell his interest in the paper.

But Matchan's unyielding fight against the men who tried to make him change his editorial policies has brought him a bigger assignment than he could ever have had as editor of a back-country daily. Next month Don Matchan will begin a six-month tour of Europe to study farm problems in the Balkans, Scandinavia and Russia. And his reports will be published in farm papers throughout the US.

United Nations News

THE late days of September were a closeting time for General Assembly delegates. The discussions taking place in the corridors and in the delegates' lounge at Lake Success were more important than the opening meetings of the Assembly's working committees. Delegates jockeyed for position, tested their voting strength, established their positions on specific issues. Thus were launched the compromises which will determine final Assembly action. On several important issues the nature and method of the compromise are already apparent.

France and Britain have made it clear that, although the Soviet Union and the United States may not wish it, both must make concessions from their harsh, vindictive stands taken during the introductory general debate. Even the US, despite its power, is not strong enough to push everything it wants through the Assembly. France, especially, as Foreign Minister Georges Bidault pointed out in his policy speech, considers herself the bridge between East and West and will "seize every opportunity of making all possible efforts to appease conflicts. . . ." This generous intent may not be carried through on every issue, but spokesmen for the French delegation say they won't, for instance, support the Marshall proposal for an interim committee of the Assembly to deal with peace and security. The delegation is convinced that the US hopes to by-pass the Security Council; that such a move would threaten the structure of the UN and serve only to widen the gulf.

The British position is less clear. Hector McNeil told the Assembly that "there must be no question of contravening the provisions of the Charter or of depriving any of the organs of the United Nations of their proper functions." McNeil added, however, that he hoped the Assembly would give "the fullest consideration" to the US proposal for an interim committee. Many delegates immediately assumed that Britain would support the proposal, but members of the British delegation insist that they will do no more than support a standing committee

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which is, in fact, powerless. This would pay lip service to the US proposal, but would remove any question of conflict between the committee and the Security Council.

French and British opposition to Vishinsky's resolution censuring the US and its warmongering practices is well known. But both countries would support a mild resolution condemning warmongering without recourse to names. The US would probably be smart enough to support the more general resolution on this subject, too.

SUCH compromises will have two results in committee meetings. The resolutions finally passed will be watered-down versions of original proposals. This dilution can, on occasion, be a good thing, but it can also prevent any real solution—as it did last year when the Assembly passed its notoriously ineffectual resolution on Spain. The second result of such compromises is that they increase the importance of the small states. Since each nation has but one vote, weaker nations can force concessions on issues of interest to them, in return for a favorable vote on questions in which bigger colleagues have a major interest.

Most of the important resolutions and the important concessions will be handled in the Political Committee and in the *ad-hoc* committee on Palestine. But the work of the Trusteeship Committee is also significant. Russia has not participated in the UN Trusteeship Council, and the Assembly committee would like a guarantee of future participation. But Russia has consistently maintained that the trusteeship agreements already approved are illegal under the UN Charter. The price of Russian participation will be either revision of certain agreements or strong condemnation of South Africa's refusal to submit any trusteeship agreement for Southwest Africa —despite the Assembly's recommendation to that effect last year. On all these issues there is a point beyond which the major powers cannot give ground. But they can go a long way before they reach rock bottom, and a healthy fall it will be in most cases.

JANE BEDELL

Palestine: Homeland or Battlefield?

AFTER just 30 years of constant turmoil without real progress, the Palestine issue was finally dumped last week into the lap of the United Nations. When Arthur Creech-Jones, British Colonial Secretary, had finished his historic statement before the 55-member UN Special Committee on Palestine, that Britain intends to give up her mandate, only one thing seemed sure: that the future was even more clouded with uncertainty, and darker with threat of conflict, than the past.

Said Creech-Jones:

¶ Great Britain is compelled by circumstances to abandon her mandate. (Reports from Palestine said British troops might begin to leave within two months.)

¶ Great Britain will not use force to back up any UN policy not acceptable to both Jews and Arabs. (Since everyone knows there is no such policy, this means Britain probably will not participate in a UN international police force to keep order during the transition period.)

¶ Official spokesmen for both Jews and Arabs promptly declared that Britain was not acting in good faith. (The Jews want partition; the Arabs do not.)

As usual, United States policy was of the utmost importance in the whole complicated mess; and, as usual, no one was sure what that policy was. The UN Commission of Inquiry had recommended division of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. Secretary Marshall in his first big UN speech had said this country would give "great weight" to that recommendation. But then he trotted off to a special lunch with the UN delegates from the five Arab states and assured them this country had not committed itself to the UN plan.

Evidently the pro-Arab faction in the US State Department, led by Loy Henderson and George Wadsworth, had got to Marshall and reminded him of Middle Eastern oil. (In his recent book on his experience as a member of the Anglo-American Palestine Committee, Bartley Crum reported that whenever the US President issued a pro-Jewish statement, men in the State Department sent word secretly to the Arabs to pay no attention.)

This week the Arabs obligingly threatened, if the UN recommendation is carried out, to cancel British and American oil concessions and to boycott those countries *in toto*. Jewish spokesmen promptly laughed at such threats, arguing that the whole economy of the Arab states would collapse if this "empty bluff" were carried out.

In the past, the Arabs have coerced the British and Americans by threatening to plump themselves into the arms of Moscow, despite the inherent contradictions between feudal Moslem powers and Soviet communism. But this threat no longer works; Russia, with another historic reversal of policy, has accepted the idea of partition or a federal bipartisan rule, whichever proves workable.

Britain's new gesture does not mean she is pulling out of the Middle East. She still has troops in Trans-Jordan, the Sudan, the Suez Canal area (over Egypt's strong protest) and at her big military base in Kenya Colony in East Africa. If and when she gets out of Palestine, many of her soldiers will be transferred to these other points. The empire goes on.

Would the UN go ahead with plans for partition? If so, would war break out between the Jewish underground army of 70,000 well equipped, highly disciplined forces and Arab guerrillas? With the British refusing further armed intervention, and a UN police force still non-existent, would the US send the thousands of troops necessary to keep order? If so, would the Soviet Union, already disturbed by American military action in Greece and Turkey, demand the right to send troops also? These questions, like the troubles of a radio soap opera, remained unanswered at the beginning of a new week. The world would have to tune in tomorrow to see whether the long tragedy of Palestine was at last on the way to a solution.

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Henry Wallace

Too Little, Too Late

EVERYONE should read the report of the Paris Conference requesting American aid under the Marshall Plan. Here we find spelled out the needs of the 270 million people of Western Europe who are the closest to us by ancestry and culture. Their needs are acute.

This year, chiefly because of long continued dry weather, the wheat and rye supply will be nearly 400 million bushels below prewar. Meat is only two-thirds of prewar and milk four-fifths. France and Italy are in the worst shape of all, with only about half the normal supply of wheat. In many areas of Western Europe the food shortage will be greater than at any time during the war.

Last April, Premier Ramadier told me of the trouble that would be coming to France this winter because of bread shortages. The basic facts of the Paris report have been well known to informed people for six months. The report is useful. It is interesting. It is an example of what coördinated efforts and planning can produce. It had the good result of getting the cooperating nations to study their needs and plan self-help.

But the essential for self-help is people with sufficient nourishment—sufficient calories—to produce. Last July in these pages we stressed the necessity of immediate American action to see that this fuel for human life was provided these peoples in time to sustain them during the winter. We said: "There are grave difficulties to be overcome and many lean months to be endured before the Marshall program could help the peoples of Western Europe."

Thus far, nothing effective has been done, and as this is written, there has been no indication that the Administration and Congress will act with the vigor and speed the critical situation demands. This emergency is more vital to the peace and welfare of the world than is the installation, under the pretext of an "international emergency," of a new Secretary of Defense.

It is another case of too little and too late. Congress is much more interested in reducing taxes and creating campaign issues than it is in trying to put Europe on its feet.

My readers know that I have absolutely no faith in any type of Marshall Plan which sets up Western Europe against Eastern Europe. Politically we shall gain nothing but hatred from using our billions to pressure governments and peoples. The reactionaries at the top will love us because they think we are saving their hides.

The workers will hate us because they think we are trying to maintain or install reactionary governments and influence the economic system of Western Europe to the benefit of Wall Street. If Congress were to meet tomorrow and carry out the full recommendations of the report within two weeks, I still would expect most of the governments of Western Europe to move to the Left this winter.

Our Administration and Congress are utterly naïve to think that the countries of Europe will sell out their political birthrights for a few billion dollars. They may take our money and our products, but sooner or later they will act politically just as they please. We are not loved in Europe, and the more we use economic pressure to intervene in European affairs, the worse we are hated.

We look at the votes in the UN Assembly and think we are swinging three-fourths of the nations of the world against Russia. Temporarily, military and financial power may give us a position of unique prestige in the UN, but among the peoples of the world we are steadily losing ground. An implemented Marshall Plan will not help us to regain that lost ground. The failure of the Administration to mobilize American sentiment and plan a basic formula for aid, while the Europeans were inventorying their needs, has made the Marshall Plan look like an enlarged and glorified non-military application of the Truman Doctrine.

THOUGH I question the motivation of our so-called Marshall Plan, I still hope that Congress meets at once and appropriates the full amount needed to carry out the recommendations of the Paris report. In so doing Congress should realize that probably half the money appropriated will be spent for food and that food sent to Europe cannot be eaten in the US. This means that Congress should immediately pass a law

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to ration and control the prices of a few key products.

The heart of the whole problem is a shortage of 10 million tons of bread grains in Western Europe and 20 million tons of feed grains in the US. The livestock of the US does not have enough corn, and at present prices many US farmers can make money by feeding wheat, rather than corn, to livestock. Europe desperately needs wheat during the period from January to August of 1948. Without it the workmen of France and Italy cannot do a normal day's work. Many families will be shivering miserably because of a shortage of both bread and coal. Humanity demands that the wheat be eaten by the people of Europe rather than the livestock of the US.

The surest way to prevent American farmers from feeding wheat to livestock is for Congress to pass a law that will give the Commodity Credit Corporation the right to take over wheat from any farmer or grain dealer in the US at not more than the price on October 1, 1947. There should also be a law to prohibit the feeding of any except low-grade wheat to livestock. The wheat division of the Commodity Credit Corporation should be specifically charged by Congress with the duty of handling the wheat and seeing to it that animal consumption of wheat is reduced to the minimum.

THIS is strong action. It may mean that our farmers will get less than possible for their grain, but it will still be a price to net them more than ever before from a bumper crop. If we are to ward off chaos in Europe, such action will be necessary.

Congress also should set maximum prices on livestock products at no more than present levels and should pass a law providing for the establishment of an agency which will issue ration books for meat and butter. There will not be a great scarcity of meat this winter, but later in 1948 the scarcity will be severe as a result of the short 1947 corn crop. There are two ways to make the eventual short supply of meat go around. One is to use high prices and thus push the poor people out of the market. The other is rationing, which distributes the scarcity among all the people. The British are still using rationing. We should do the same, even if we can't get it started till February or March. The meat shortage will be getting worse for some little time.

I AM not in sympathy with the present political objectives of the Marshall Plan, but I am very much in sympathy with the hungry people of Western Europe. I know that by taking prompt action we can increase the wheat available for Europe by many millions of bushels.

The Administration and Herbert Hoover talk about voluntary action. It will not do the job. Certain advertising and public-relations concerns will get nice assignments, many of them volunteering their services, to draw posters showing fat livestock eating wheat in the US when the hungry people of Europe are in terrible need. Speakers will make the circuit of the Rotary and Kiwanis clubs. Spot announcements will be made over the radio. Our moral fervor will be whipped to a lather under the leadership of the firm of Truman and Hoover. But in terms of wheat saved for the hungry people of Europe it will add up to very little. If farmers can make more money by feeding wheat than they can by feeding corn, they will feed wheat. The congressional committee that is trying to control grain prices by public pronouncements will not get very far. It may scare out the amateur speculators and make prices drop for a time, but it will not cure the underlying situation, which is caused by a short corn crop in the United States and a short wheat crop in Western Europe.

When human misery is at stake, it is time for both Congress and the Administration to grapple with fundamentals. Once they have a program, publicity is fine. But voluntary appeals and publicity drives without a program will do nothing more than salve the conscience of an American public which is determined to help Europe. It will take more than voluntary appeals to break through our complacency and get results in terms of extra wheat shipped. H. W.

"THE EGG AND I" AND I

BETTY MACDONALD, "The Egg and I" girl who didn't like Bob's Leghorns, told me last fall that I could send her some of my cross-bred chickens provided they didn't have too much "flighty" Leghorn blood in them. So in early April I sent her some eggs produced by crossing chickens which were part New Hampshire Red and part Leghorn. When they were a little over five months old, she wrote, "The pullets are all laying and the roosters are the biggest things in captivity. Exactly what is their ancestry? I am furious that I didn't show them at the West Washington Fair last week, as they are much bigger and more beautiful than any of the prize chickens."

Now that I have got Betty MacDonald liking chickens again, I am convinced that eventually we shall get the US and Russia liking each other. I call attention to the fact that the best results with chickens are obtained by crossing "Reds" and "Whites." But it has to be done in the right way. H. W.

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Germany's Cartels Are At It Again

by James Stewart Martin

Drifting policies, business pressure and German guile have kept us from breaking them up, and a new, powerful Germany is in the making

ONCE again in our lifetime Germany is on her way toward turning military defeat into economic victory. For the past two and a half years I have been in Germany and watched it happen. During most of that time I was one of the officials who gathered around General Lucius D. Clay's conference table every Saturday morning to discuss problems and progress in carrying out US policy in Germany. Before that I had spent three years in Washington helping to plan steps by which the US and other Allies might prevent the Germans from doing it again. But instead of going through with those steps, for the second time in 25 years we have watched Americans contribute hundreds of millions of dollars to prove to the German people that crime does pay.

What has happened is that within a period of two years US policies for the treatment of Germany have changed their course by 180 degrees. Now in all important respects they coincide with what the German financiers, industrialists and politico-militarists have wanted us to do ever since they surrendered.

The official interpretation of our about-face on Germany was given in a broadcast on August 16, 1947, by Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. He stated that the aim of the US Government in setting up a far-reaching program of aid to Germany was simply to close the gap between the lagging recovery of that country and the more rapid recovery of the other Western European nations—which Germany had occupied and looted for five years.

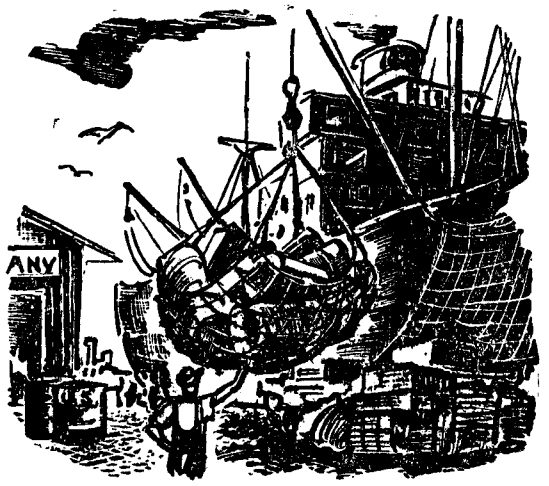
Not two weeks later a London communiqué announced the results of the conference among Britain, France and the US on the future of German heavy industry. The Americans and British had decided to disregard French fears of a strongly rebuilt Germany and to raise the level of permitted production of iron and steel in the Ruhr from 5.8 to 10.7 million tons. This will require keeping German coal in Germany instead of increasing shipments to France and the Low Countries, which need it for their own recovery, and inevitably means furthering the economic hegemony of Germany over Europe.

At the same time we have agreed—partly through default of a firm policy and a mere desire to "get things going," and partly through a desire of key groups in this country to do business with Germany—to the thesis of big-time German industrialists that the economic power of a revived Germany should be concentrated in their hands. These are the same hands that twice in one generation built Germany into a world threat.

To understand how this has come about, one has to go back to 1945, when it all began. In that year we were vowing, in speeches of government officials and in editorials throughout the country, not to repeat the mistakes we made after Germany's collapse in 1918. We told ourselves that it would take at least 25 years before Germans could be accepted as bona-fide participants in the world's affairs without supervision or control. We were determined that they must show by actual conduct and not by pious talk that they had broken away from their previous adherence to any authoritarian leadership that promised new power, and had learned how to conduct their national affairs peaceably and without promoting conflict.

Historic reminders

WE warned ourselves that the Germans' discredited financial, industrial and militarist leadership would take every opportunity to promote and exploit disagreement among the Allies. We warned ourselves that the pseudo-democrats of the Weimar regime had



AID TO GERMANY COMES FIRST

For three war years James Stewart Martin headed the Economic Warfare Section of the Department of Justice, specializing in investigating the economic systems of Axis countries and their influence abroad. Early in 1945 he went overseas to carry on his investigations on the spot and to take part in rounding up and interrogating top Nazi industrialists. Thereafter, until his resignation in July, 1947, he was chief of the Decartelization Branch of Military Government and US Control Officer for the I. G. Farben combine, stationed in Berlin.

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WHY FARM WHEN AMERICANS WILL HELP?

proved to be just as aggressively Pan-German as any Nazi. We reminded ourselves that after the First World War we had poured in US and British capital to save Germany—over French protests—and that our reward had been default and German saving for new aggression. We kept in mind the fact that from the time of the Austrian Anschluss in 1938, the German economic high command had organized the key industries and resources of a large part of Europe into a continent-wide, German-dominated system, and we were intent on breaking up that "new order" for good.

This American point of view found its expression in the Potsdam Agreement of the victorious Big Three, whose economic clauses—today largely annulled—provided for the following:

1. Germany was to be treated as a single economic unit in the sense that common policies should be established to govern industry, agriculture, labor, imports and exports, finance, reparations, transport and communications.

2. In organization, however, the German economy was to be decentralized for the purpose of eliminating the excessive concentration of economic power exemplified by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements.

3. In organizing the German economy, primary emphasis was to be given to the development of agriculture and peaceful domestic industries.

4. Heavy industry was to be restricted to that necessary for Germany's peacetime needs, which were defined as the maintenance of living standards not to exceed the average of the surrounding European countries.

Though the Potsdam Agreement did call for a considerable reshaping of the German economy in the course of rebuilding, it lacked the destructive features usually attributed to the "Morgenthau Plan." Given reasonable efforts on the part of US officialdom to carry it out, there was no reason for supposing that German reconstruction could not be guided along the prescribed lines.

Attack by propaganda

EVEN before these Allied policies had been proclaimed, however, influential Germans had begun to undermine them. I have seen letters exchanged between Germans at home and Germans or their friends in the US, congratulating one another on how well this attack was prepared in 1945. Their first propaganda effort was toward restoring the German economy along its prewar lines, with emphasis on heavy industry. Their second effort was to retain Nazis and other former leaders in key positions in an economy that was to remain centralized. Their third effort was to organize sympathy for Germany and to divide the occupying powers. All this seemed quite understandable as a German point of view. But while in 1945 it was still possible to refer to it as German propaganda, in 1947 some ingenuity is needed to distinguish it from official US policy toward Germany.

It is easy to trace how the German attack on the Potsdam Agreement developed; but it is not necessarily safe to assume that the shifts of US policy were German-inspired, or were engineered by German sympathizers. We have to avoid the mistake of looking for conspirators behind every development that entrenches the German position. As we found out during the war in the case of the German cartel system, the very motivations which operate American big business and finance are often enough to guide events the way the German negotiators want them to go.

A willing ear

THE ink was scarcely dry on the Potsdam Agreement before some US experts were arguing that it was unworkable, especially in its requirements for increasing food production and expanding light industry while prohibiting unusually large rehabilitation of heavy industry, machinery and tools. They won a ready hearing from Major General William H. Draper, the former member of the international banking house of Dillon, Read who had become director of the Economics Division of US Military Government. As early as October, 1945, one of Draper's principal advisers, Dr. Don D. Humphrey, began putting forth a series of recommendations that advocated revising the Potsdam principles.

The burden of these recommendations was that while Military Government was "for the moment" under a directive to the contrary, actually the best way to get German industry going and to produce exports sufficient to balance necessary imports would be to concentrate upon production of the most valuable forms of product: that is, to export complex machinery and machine tools rather than coal; to export complex chemicals and pharmaceuticals rather than coal tar and potash; and, in fact, to place the greatest emphasis first on reviving those very forms of industrial production which the occupying powers had decided to restore only to the minimum necessary to maintain the agreed average German standard of living.

Later, as the monthly statistical reports began to show that German heavy or capital-goods industries were actually recovering more rapidly than light industries, the explanation given was that the light industries, being in need of capital equipment, machinery and so on, were for the time

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being lagging behind the heavy, but that the trend could be expected to reverse itself after the light industries gained momentum. But the trend did not reverse itself, and then the talk shifted toward justifying the need for greater heavy industry as such.

Starvation by report

BEHIND this shift toward the idea of swiftly reviving German heavy industry lay many pressures, and of these one of the most formidable was food—or rather, the failure to produce food adequately and the Germans' skill in producing hunger propaganda instead. During the summer of 1945, we Allied officials wondered at the droves of industrial workers and their families sunning themselves along the river banks in the Ruhr Valley while standing fields of grain grew overripe for lack of the labor to harvest them. That fall, German cries of "starvation" began. Along about January, 1946, we waited apprehensively each week around General Clay's table for the report of the Public Health Division; but with mild weather and the reserve food stocks the Germans had accumulated during their occupation of the rest of Europe, the reports showed no epidemics and no increase in the death rate.

The fact that food supplies did thereafter become seriously short was due in part to the failure to reform German agriculture so as to achieve maximum production. Shortages of farm labor, failure to reallocate the use of land and absence of a positive program to stimulate production were in turn blamed. Personnel cuts in the Food and Agriculture Branch of our MG, the lack of a green light to carry through reforms and the failure to permit seed and fertilizer imports, all served to hamstring an able American staff while the major responsibility was shifted to the Germans themselves, in the US zone, through the food and agriculture ministries of the several *Länder*.

By March, 1947, the facts about what the Germans were doing began to roll out. With only 12 US inspectors to watch the agricultural and food-distribution activities of the German agencies, food collections were running at only about 50 to 60 percent of the estimated actual crops raised; the black market in food was flourishing; crop estimates by the German agencies were reported in some cases to be off as much as 62 percent; and, to top it all, in the British zone the system of accounting for imported food had broken down so completely that of the first three million tons of grain arriving from the US, some 300,000 tons had unaccountably vanished.

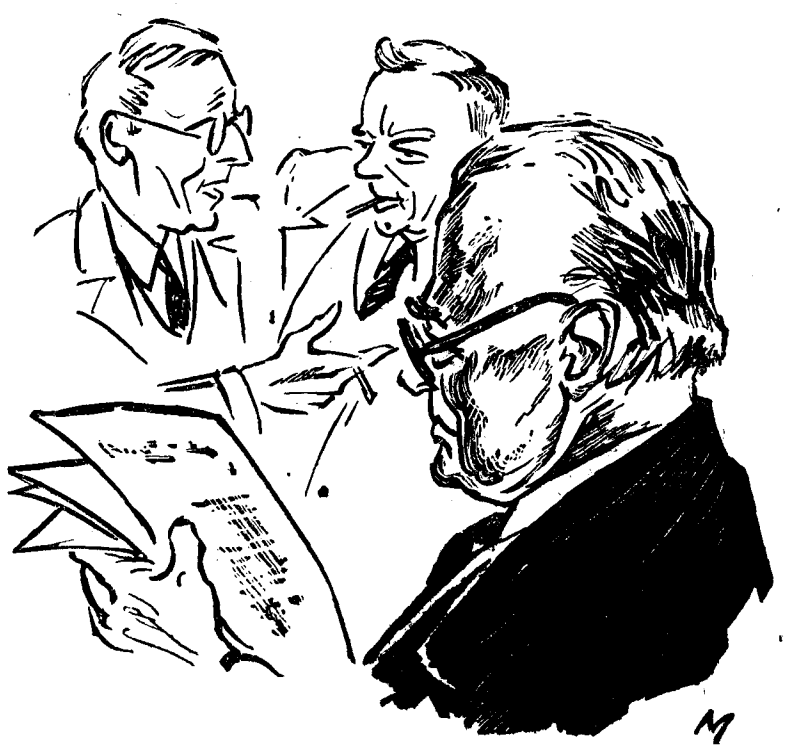
In the meantime the announcement of a ration cut in March, 1946, had brought about an immediate collapse of coal mining in the Ruhr. ("Sabotage!" was one comment. "Teaching the occupying powers a lesson," was another.) Under pressure to produce coal, the Americans and British promptly began to send in food and to accept the feeding of Germans as their responsibility. And this in turn raised the question of how Germany was to pay for these food imports. With exports, of course. But what kind of exports?

At this point enter Herbert Hoover and his mission to Germany, spark-plugged by the German economist Gustav Stolper. The recommendation with which Hoover came back was that Germany should exchange primarily the products of heavy—rather than light—industry for food. (The idea of expanding German agriculture took a minor place in the Hoover report.)

Here was support from an elder statesman for the emerging doctrine of building up German heavy industry—a doctrine whose original authors had been German industrialists themselves. These Germans, having seen the initial eagerness of the victor powers to produce Ruhr coal for Europe's economy, had suavely tied the problem of expanding coal production to proposals for reviving Germany's leadership in heavy industry. You can't move coal to industry without transport, they argued; you can't improve transport without steel; you can't even mine coal without more steel for replacements.

What Hoover didn't mention

MEANWHILE, what about light or consumer-goods industries? The Germans maintained that to expand them would be impracticable. They chose to overlook the fact that the US zone in particular is peopled with Germans who have been distinguished mainly for their handicrafts and for skilled craftsmanship in ceramics and



LET'S REBUILD RUHR STEEL, SAYS HERBERT HOOVER

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precision and optical work. They also ignored the fact that Germany's huge existing heavy-industry plant was largely the result of planned overemphasis after the First World War, built to the detriment of agriculture and light industry and justified in the main on the grounds of military self-sufficiency.

That this German heavy industry was fairly uneconomic was proved by the fact that the American loans advanced to build it up after the First World War were largely defaulted. Indeed, this field is not even dominated by that highly specialized know-how which only Germans are supposed to possess. At the Leipzig Fair this year, for instance, the exhibits were particularly disappointing to expert observers in the heavy-machinery field, because most of the machines were 10 years out of date.

Like the Germans, Hoover did not stop to consider these points. But when he argued that the recovery of German light industry and agriculture must depend upon reviving heavy industry first, he was also overlooking what was happening just across Germany's borders in other Western European countries whose soil and climate are similar to her own. Not only was agriculture reviving with surprising speed in France and the Low Countries, but many manufactured items of consumer goods had begun to show up in their shops as early as the end of 1944, even though these countries had been systematically looted of their materials during five years of German occupation. Even little Luxembourg, the whole northern half of whose territory was ravaged by the Battle of the Bulge, had become 90 percent self-sufficient in food by 1947.

GENERAL DRAPER ALLOWS CARTELS

No help for small industry

WHILE American economic policy in Germany was thus moving gradually into line with the Germans' own program, two other things happened that sped the process. First, the Germans themselves were put in charge of allocating coal and scarce raw materials to industries within the US zone. Second, American officials took to encouraging centralization of control in the hands of "leading" German financial and industrial groups.

The two circumstances hang together. Under the Germans' own coal-allocation system, the pump-priming of heavy industries continued, to the embarrassment of the export-import program. (Although the Bizonal Agreement of 1946 had set a goal of $350 million of exports from the combined US-British zones of Germany in 1947, only $60 million of this was achieved in the year's first half.) This storing up of productive power in the form of capital equipment, instead of putting it out in the form of exportable products, has greatly helped German over-all postwar plans. First, it paves the way for very substantial loans by seeming to show that without such loans the export program can never get off the ground. Second, the low export figures lend support to German drives for "efficiency"—meaning stronger centralized control.

And here is an example of how these drives are being aided by Americans. On July 3, 1947, we received copies at Berlin of a proposed statement of policy to be sent from the British-US Bipartite Economic Control Group to the economic officers of the military governments in all *Länder* of the two zones. The document was prepared over the name of A. S. Barrows, who was formerly president of Sears, Roebuck, then serving as export-import chief for the combined zones. It would have required the economic officers to put pressure on the German allocation authorities in the *Länder* to close out small, "inefficient" industries by denying allocations of coal, iron and steel, and to concentrate industrial production to the greatest possible extent in the larger, "efficient" plants. This particular directive was for the time being suppressed after the Decartelization Branch raised objections to it; but its very existence is significant as revealing American sympathy for German big management—which, by and large, means Germany's old management.

Germany for the Nazis

UNDOUBTEDLY the Germans have had compelling reasons of their own for wanting to retain Nazis and especially members of their prewar financial and industrial leadership in key positions, and to retain a centralized economy in which their control can again become effective. The close alliance of Junkers, General Staff, financiers and industrialists has been a feature of the German social structure since the time of Bismarck.

The men who decided Germany's economic policy and created and managed her combines, cartels and syndicates, were the men who joined the Junkers and militarists in supporting the Nazis and maneuvering them into a position to take over the government. And if they or their nominees continue to have access to cartels or other forms of highly integrated organization, they will again be able to circumvent the terms of surrender.

Naturally they are bending every effort to stay in control. We were scarcely surprised, for example, when we found in the fall of 1946 that the German manager installed by the German authorities of Hesse to operate the Höchst plant of the I. G. Farben combine was meeting quietly with the ousted Farben management. As US Control Officer for I. G. Farben, I discharged the manager—doing so over the objections of our Economics Division for Hesse, which considered him a good production man—only to find him turning up in a private capacity at meetings of the Chemical Asso-

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Drawings by Hans Mueller

STILL THE PRUSSIAN TRIUMVIRATE: SOLDIER, INDUSTRIALIST, JUNKER

ciation for Hesse, where he was accorded the same respect as before. Since no law made it a crime to keep the old Farben gang together, nothing further was done.

The law be damned

SUCH rebuilding of German organizations under the noses of the occupying authorities is not something new. It happened after the last war too. One of our first investigations at Düsseldorf in May, 1945, led us to Rheinmetall Borsig A. G., the huge armaments firm that was for a time integrated with the Reichswerke A. G. Hermann Goering. In one room we found research records and working papers dating back to 1922, when the office was set up right under the noses of the French occupying forces to design and manufacture artillery.

Other records led us to an installation at Unterlüss on the Lüneberger Heide, just off the highway from Hanover to Hamburg, which had evidently served as an artillery proving ground for Rheinmetall during the period when the Inter-Allied Commission was trying to suppress military construction and research and at a time when the new Weimar "democratic" Germany was developing.

The only noticeably novel feature of German tactics this time has been their success at convincing some occupation authorities—and apparently to a considerable extent our government—that the cumbersome, sluggish, red-tape administration of a centrally managed economy is more efficient and can achieve greater production than a decentralized one. From the standpoint of the desire of the dominant clique of Germans to retain control where they want it, the move is intelligible; but from the standpoint of the occupying powers, especially in view of the poor production record of the Germans in the past two years, it is not.

Yet we are hearing more and more in American circles about the allegedly serious inroads on German management made by the removal of Nazis, and of the need for retaining the old, experienced leadership.

Thus, in May of this year, a group of 14 "leading" American businessmen whom the War Department had sent on a tour of Germany released a report which recommended curtailing or postponing the program to reorganize the major cartels and combines that had dominated the German economy. The reason given for this was that the program represented "economic principles quite new to the German mind and to the past industrial development of the country." They declared their belief that "too strict adherence to the law in its administration" would be harmful.

Later, in a conference with the Secretary of War, the group of businessmen went into specific denunciation of the American denazification policy as well. It was their opinion that we could not get the German economy going unless we used the first teams of German management, which were either being denazified or awaiting trial. Another of their suggestions was that a group of American investment bankers should be sent to Germany.

A pair of desires

ALONG with their campaign for retaining the former German leaders and their centralized forms of economic control, the German financial and industrialist cliques have continued to argue that Germany either is or must again become the economic hub of Europe. In this they have a small but highly influential group of willing supporters in certain large-scale manufacturers of durable consumer goods in the United States and Britain.

These manufacturers want two

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Who's Who in Western Germany

IN April, 1944, a Department of Justice report on background to be considered for controlling Germany after defeat listed a number of German industrialists whose activities had been "most potent, both in aiding Germany's economic comeback during the late twenties and in steering Germany's polity toward totalitarianism." Beginning in March, 1945, the Justice Department set out to find these men in Germany, concentrating on the Ruhr and Rhineland industrialists and bankers who had been most directly connected with the rise of Nazism. Here are some of them—along with an indication of what they are doing now:

Hermann Abs, former director of the Deutsche Bank: has been a financial adviser in the British zone.

Harald Rasch, former director of the Mannesmann steel-tube combine: now deputy director for the German Bizonal Committee for Economics.

Wilhelm Zangen, general manager of the Mannesmann combine and one of the earliest backers of Hitler: has been in and out of detention, but is now reported to be working closely with the Germans who have been put in charge of the Ruhr steel industry.

Alexandre Kraeuter, former chairman of the Deutsche Kredit Sicherungs A. G. as well as German branch manager of the French collaborationist bank of Worms & Cie., and German representative of the New York investment house of Dillon, Read: was hired in 1945 as a German consultant to Military Government and served as an adviser in the US Economics Division at Berlin. His activities were somewhat restricted but not terminated when SS (Elite Guard) card files showed that he had been a contributing member of that organization.

Alfred Hugenberg, newspaper-chain magnate, Minister of Economics in the first Hitler cabinet, and chairman of the board of Vereinigte Stahlwerke, the biggest steel combine in Europe: was not removed from his board chairmanship because, according to British authorities, it would take a vote of his shareholders to do so.

Heinrich Dinkelbach, in active charge of Vereinigte Stahlwerke when US Justice and Treasury agents seized him for interrogation in May, 1945: now in charge of the administration of the iron and steel industry for the British zone.

Werner Carp, director general of the Gutehoffnungshuette combine, board member of Vereinigte Stahlwerke and a close friend of Baron von Schroeder and the Dutch collaborationist industrialist, F. H. F. Van Vlissingen: released from detention in Bavaria.

Gerhardt A. Westrick, Nazi industrialist who in 1940 was sent by Foreign Minister Ribbentrop to the US on a mission to convince leading American businessmen of the gains to be made from a Hitler victory in Europe; well connected with Americans (he had been empowered before the war by International Telephone and Telegraph to vote the American-owned shares of IT&T's German subsidiaries and to take charge of IT&T companies wherever German forces would be in control), he was given letters signed by high-ranking US officers during the occupation attesting the service he had performed for the Strategic Bombing Survey and other groups. He was held for interrogation by the Decartelization Branch until July, 1947, when the Office of Chief of Counsel at the Nuremberg tribunal finally indicated that no prosecution was likely to be undertaken against him.

things to result from our control of Germany: first, a potential supply, at low rates, of capital equipment and semi-finished products, which they can then process and sell in their own protected and carefully allocated markets; and second, the power to guide and channel the production and distribution of potentially competing products so as not to upset their already settled marketing arrangements. These are the business groups which would be most affected by the uncontrolled development of production in the Low Countries and France, with the possibility of an outbreak of competition in world markets.

Still another small but powerful group furthering the German game in the US and Britain are those with investment-banking interests and sufficiently good connections to assure control of loans to Germany.

It has, of course, been a little difficult to maintain the "Germany-is-the-hub-of-Europe" theory in the face of her low production record and the well organized recalcitrance of the Germans, especially in the Ruhr, in getting to work for their own recovery. Ruhr coal production has been lagging far below its prewar and wartime performance: instead of 300,000 tons per day, production has hung around 225,000 tons, gradually creeping to 243,000 under the latest group of incentives. At the same time, iron and steel production have been hovering around the rate of 2.5 million tons per year, as against the old permitted rate of 5.8 million tons.

Yet, even though the Germans had not yet reached a full 50 percent of their permitted iron and steel production, the US and British governments have now raised the permitted level. What this means is that even if we succeed in stepping up Ruhr coal production, all or most of this increased coal will have to be retained in Germany in order to serve the new iron and steel levels—and undoubtedly to go into other correspondingly increased steel-processing industries. And thereby we shall find ourselves underwriting that complex of heavy industry which German financiers and industrialists have been hoping to reconstitute since 1945. At Potsdam we said we were not going to let them reconstitute it any more than absolutely necessary. Now we say that it is necessary, not for Germany alone, but for the benefit of Europe as a whole. What are the facts?

Illogical economics

BELGIUM, Luxembourg and France are producing iron and steel at a rate of about 10.4 million tons a year between them. But they have an existing and undamaged capacity to produce immediately at least 16.7 million tons per year if they could get the necessary coking coal or coke. Now if we

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were really talking about benefiting Europe as a whole and not simply Germany, we might be impressed by the fact that an additional six million needed tons could be produced immediately by supplying these Western European nations with German coal. Instead of that, we are embarking on an extensive rehabilitation program for the reopening of the damaged steel plants of the Ruhr. What makes this decision even more illogical and uneconomic is this: If the Ruhr is to be the hub of the new production, we shall have to move three times as much ton mileage of ore *eastward* from the ore fields of Lorraine as the ton mileage of coke which we would move *westward* from the Ruhr or the Aachen basin if France and the Low Countries were the hub of steel production.

Cartels in the shadows

THE effect of our policy of Ruhr rehabilitation is to turn the clock back to the period after World War 1. Remember that on the eve of that war the French steel industry, *minus* Alsace and Lorraine, was equal to the German, *plus* Alsace and Lorraine. Yet after that war the combination of successful German hold-backs on Ruhr coal production and big American and British loans for building up German iron and steel production effectively whittled down the standing of the Western European steel industry. The result was that by 1926 the German industry, *minus* Alsace and Lorraine, had become greater than the French industry, *plus* Alsace and Lorraine. And this German advantage was solidified when, with the help of US and British steel interests, the German steelmasters set up the International Steel Cartel as a device for maintaining, through alternate agreements and threats, their artificially acquired domination over the iron and steel industry of Europe and of foreign markets.

It is of the greatest significance, therefore, that the International Steel Cartel, which maintained a shadow existence during the war and acted as an intelligence agency for the German General Staff, has resumed discreet but active operations. Various subgroups of the cartel have been meeting since at least October, 1946, mostly in Brussels, in order to start working out new private agreements and quotas to govern the international trade in steel and steel products. For the present, since Germany cannot yet be formally represented at these meetings, this development is only an indication of things to come.

Backward progress

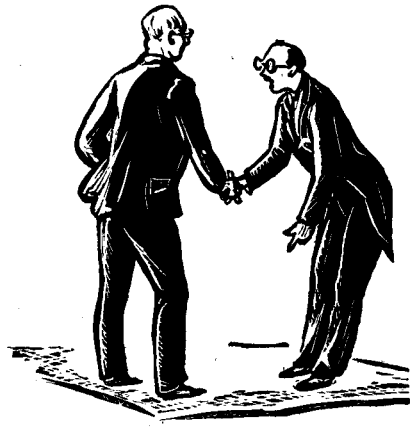
IN two short years we have gone a long way—in reverse. We have forgotten how Nazi Germany organized the key industries and resources of a large part of Europe into a continent-wide, German-dominated economic system. War damage and defeat broke the immediate chain of dependence, and left the other countries of Europe free to shift for themselves and make their own readjustments. This they have done for two years, with such success that the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs points out that the US must throw its greatest weight behind Germany's lagging recovery. To close the gap between Germany and the others, we are set to reconstitute the Ruhr heavy industry, under its prewar leadership, as the hub of Europe, to push the surrounding countries back into their state of dependence upon German economic well-being, and, in fact, to do for the New Order what it was never able to do for itself.

Beginning in late 1945 and on through 1946, a constant stream of German political and economic leaders regained prominence by denouncing the lack of any definite US policy for Germany. Actually, this was the only period during which we had the semblance of a German policy. Now that the Potsdam policy has disappeared in a welter of conflicting purposes, we have nothing to take its place and we really do not know what kind of Germany we want to see emerge from the transitional state of military government. To make matters more difficult, an unwritten law has now decreed that all US foreign-policy statements must be acceptably bipartisan. In practice this means that statements of policy sent to Germany now talk in two directions at once and furnish no practicable guide for Military Government action.

The vacuum is being filled by default—by economy-minded congressmen, visiting efficiency experts, sentimentalists, Pan-German propagandists and US businessmen with irons in the fire. Our confusion of purposes is illustrated by the fact that while we are trying at Nuremberg to make an example of a few dozen members of the German leadership which launched the war, we are actively reemploying or allowing continued power to other members of the same clique. (See "Who's Who in Western Germany" on preceding page.)

Democracy in need

IN spite of all this, our situation in Germany is not so hopeless as it seems. The main thing needed is a clear-cut determination to cease apologizing for or retreating from American points of view whenever they happen to run counter to the views of German "experts" or of US businessmen with a personal interest in the outcome. We need to reassert a policy for Germany. If we can make up our minds to order a forthright reorganization of the German economy along truly democratic lines, there are hundreds of able and intelligent people still employed in Washington and in the Military Government organization who would know how to go to work and take the necessary steps. If we are going to rebuild Germany, we must first make sure that we are going to build the kind of Germany that will keep the peace.



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Cry Shame . . . . !

by Martha Gellhorn

THE fierce lights of the newsreel cameras beat on a bald head and a pudgy, bewildered face, a photographer crouched four feet away; the press crowded at tables to the right; on the left sat the counsel and his aides; above, the four inquisitors lolled in reasonable and comfortable shadow It looked like a cluttered stage set up there in front, but the rest of the big House Caucus Room was empty except for a few dozen people who seemed to have wandered in, casually, as one might into a Trans-Lux theater between trains. And it was quite a show, and free too: the Un-Americans putting on a flawless travesty of justice.

Robert E. Stripling, the permanent counsel for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, was the chief actor. Stripling, of the sharp voice and sick, spiteful face, did most of the talking because Hanns Eisler, the other leading character, was not allowed to cross-examine, or call witnesses, or even suggest witnesses, or read a statement: so naturally he did not have as much to say. For a while it was rather dull and then suddenly the word "communism" was pronounced. The four Un-Americans, sitting on their raised dais, woke up, moved, leaned forward. For now we had the clue, the thing the plot hung on, the horrid syllables that gave everyone his position and his fame and his power and his swelling sense of virtue. We had, in short, the delicious smell of blood.

Shame: The inquisition

AND Stripling made a point: 21 years ago Eisler had applied for membership in the German Communist Party. Eisler said he had not paid his dues (maybe he forgot or didn't have the money), nor gone to meetings (how boring a musician would find political gatherings with nothing to listen to but voices), and had, in effect, never been a "real member" of the party. Stripling clearly did not believe this; he would have no possible way of understanding the emotions and actions and spontaneities and carelessnesses of a man who loves music. Nor would Stripling know, or try to imagine, what Germany was like in 1926. Stripling was obviously enjoying himself with this dumpy, perspiring foreigner who speaks such accented English.

Stripling, like all the Un-Americans, is a devoted and exclusive reader of the *Daily Worker*. (No other newspaper is seemingly credible enough to be cited in evidence.) He produced an antique prewar clipping from his favorite paper: a picture of Eisler being greeted by a band of people—students, musicians, or someone—all giving the clenched-fist salute, and Eisler affably giving it back. Eisler observed that really this was the salute of all kinds of European workers and always has been, but Stripling, impatient of such balderdash, told Eisler curtly to identify himself in the picture. Then Stripling said, show the committee what you were doing; and innocently Eisler raised his arm with the fist clenched. The cameras clicked like teeth snapping shut, there was a ripple of triumphant amusement in the Caucus Room, and Stripling turned away with a sly and satisfied smile. . . .

I had then seen as much of the show as I could stand, and I left. Besides, I had seen this show done before, but by real professionals; here in the Caucus Room it was after all a little peoples' court for beginners.

Shame: The gossipers

THE one legal accusation against Hanns Eisler is that, in 1940, he evaded the law which excludes from permanent entry into the United States such aliens as advocate, or belong to organizations which advocate, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence. This statute has been construed by the State Department and the Un-Americans to embrace Communists and the Communist Party. But no one has proved that Hanns Eisler was a Communist in 1940, or at any time subsequent to the wandering application for membership in the German Communist Party in 1926.

However, the committee apparently feels it can discern what goes on inside a man's heart, despite what the man may say to the contrary. To prove their divining-rod theory that Eisler has "communistic beliefs," they submit as sole evidence some flattering excerpts from the Communist press, the fact that Eisler has written "Red songs" (not titled by him; he is a musician only) which were sung by many anti-fascists as well as Communists, and the undeniable existence of his, shall we say, awkward brother. This is all, this pitiful and ignorant gossiping.

When Eisler said he had never been a "real member" of the Communist Party, that is exactly what he meant. His technically false answer (that 1926 application for membership) will perhaps fix Eisler in the end. Yet those of us who are only human beings and not law-givers can understand this: that a person, driven by despair, hope or anger, makes a brief gesture, changes his mood, wanders off, forgets. And if the Un-Americans were realists, instead of a hunting pack, they would recognize that to be a "real member" of the Communist Party, you have to earn your *C* by Communist standards, which no one has ever denied are both long and tough and highly unsuited to men who are chiefly interested in sonatas, cantatas and the theory of counterpoint.

Shame: Court above law

HOWEVER, as Norman M. Littell, lawyer for George Messersmith, stated: if the committee thought Eisler was a Communist, the evidence should be turned over to the Justice Department for prosecution. For there are laws and courts of law, and an accused man has the right to a fair and free trial: at least as long as this country stands on rock. But the Un-Americans are not a law court, and do not have to prove anything. They can say what they like, armored with subpoenas and safe behind their extraterritoriality which spares them suits for slander. So it was possible for Stripling to announce that Eisler is the Karl Marx of the music world, a remark of such grotesque and childish silliness that anywhere else it would make people yawn or laugh their heads off. It was also possible for Representative John E. Rankin (D, Miss.) to say that testimony indicated that "Mr. Eisler certainly is following the Communist line and serving the Comintern just as effectively as if he were a member of the Communist Party." In the minds of the Un-Americans, We the People must be a bunch of fools or cowards, for we are seriously asked to shiver at the thought that Eisler's songs menace our way of life: on a note of music, apparently, the whole structure will topple to pieces. If We the People do not believe our nation and system of government to be more secure than

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that, we ought to migrate like the lemmings, plunging solemnly into the sea. . . .

Supposedly, an agent of the Comintern *does* something; he can't just sit around telling himself in a sinister fashion that he is an agent. But no one bothered to say, let alone prove, what Eisler, the alleged servant, has been doing in this country since 1940 to undermine us all. Eisler had visited Russia long before the war; the committee forgets that in the almost unimaginable past a lot of people went everywhere and it was not regarded as criminal. There even used to be, if you can believe it, plain commercial tours to the Soviet Union and anyone who had the fare could go, provided they wouldn't much rather have a bang-up time rollicking around Paris, France, and Rome, Italy, and other places which were also easy to reach. The committee says that Eisler was one who planned the International Music Bureau, apparently a dream on paper, which got its letterhead (and never went farther) in Moscow when Eisler was not there to consent or advise. But oddly enough, in those distant days before the war, music and books and painting flowed around quite freely between all except the fascist nations and this used to be considered a good thing.

Furthermore, as the committee neglects to note, we have only recently been at cold war with Russia: in the years between 1933 and 1939, a German anti-Nazi could conceivably have been grateful to the Russians for keeping him outspoken company in his hatred of Hitler. Since the committee's evidence seems principally to concern the period between 1929 and 1939, it is only proper to remind them of history.

Shame: The travesty

BUT this is beside the point: if Eisler broke a law, if Eisler is a servant of the Comintern masquerading as a sincere composer of music, these facts can be proved by established courts of law and handled by the fixed penalties of law. What is intolerable is the free and easy process of defamation, replacing the careful and weighty process of justice.

There was an extraordinary feature of this case, which seems to have passed unnoticed. The State Department had a dossier on Eisler, saying that Eisler was "communistic" but not a member of the party. Which leads one to brood, in sorrow of spirit, on the making of dossiers, and to ask oneself whether intuitive and arbitrary deduction is adequate evidence for governmental bodies.

The Un-Americans, after three days of sordid and pointless baying over Eisler, decided to turn his case over to the Justice Department, and ultimately to a court of law, which is where it always belonged and the only place it belonged. If Eisler in fact did break the law, it must be proved beyond a reasonable doubt, and if proved he will stand the penalty, and that is exactly how it should be. But as it is now, the Un-Americans have terminated another of their travesties of justice; nothing is proved though anything is stated; and Eisler departs, free as air, and at liberty to be boycotted in his profession and starve at will. This is not the great terror which we watched during the long hateful years; this is not the secret arrest, the questioning with torture, the returned box of ashes. This is just a little terror, calculated to frighten little people. It works. Without recourse to law, a man can be well and truly destroyed.

Shame: The dingy ones

ONE asks oneself, finally, what these people wanted with Hanns Eisler. They proved nothing; they learned nothing. One can recognize the Un-Americans to be evil, but surely not half-witted; and they cannot expect anyone to believe that Eisler, writing background music in Hollywood for a living, is at the head of some large furtive movement of music-lovers, vowed to plunge us all into communism. There is a limit to possible public gullibility. Of course, in pawing over Eisler, they had the joyful chance of trying to besmirch what is absolutely and finally unassailable: the character of Eleanor Roosevelt. And there was also the pleasure of being able subtly to scold and condescend to very important public figures. This must be a deep satisfaction, but it is amazing that the public figures do not rise, with dignity and good sense, to condemn these dingy tactics.

Still, none of this is enough, and one must wonder whether there is a plan in this shabbiness, and whether Eisler, who is not himself important to them, has importance as a test of strength. For perhaps these men in the House Caucus Room are determined to spread silence: to frighten those voices which will shout no, and ask questions, defend the few, attack cruelty and proclaim the rights and dignity of man.

Shame: How they threaten

A MAN with a family will think many times before speaking his mind fearlessly and critically when there lies ahead the threat of an Un-Americans' investigation, a publicized branding, and his job gone. It is small consolation to know that you cannot be put in jail for your opinions if your opinions, freely expressed, end by starving your dependents. And if you can ruin a musician's livelihood, before a court has determined whether he is indeed a law-breaker or not, pretty soon you can ruin a painter and a teacher and a writer and a lawyer and an actor and a scientist; and presently you have made a silent place.

If these things should come to pass, America is going to look very strange to Americans and they will not be at home here, for the air will slowly become unbreathable to all forms of life except sheep.

The Bettmann Archive

SALEM, 1692: AN EARLIER AMERICAN WITCH HUNT

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Volcano Near the Mediterranean

by Harry Zinder

Oil, the bogey of Communist infiltration, and Palestine are among the factors threatening a violent eruption in the Middle East

IN the 34 years she has ruthlessly exploited the area that has come to be known as the Middle East, Great Britain has never failed to find a political, if not a moral, justification for her imperialistic ventures. Originally, she contended she had to protect the convenient Suez Canal. Just before World War II, she claimed that the threat of war made her presence in the East a vital defensive measure. Today, she finds justification—and hopes to bring America in with her—in an anti-Communist front.

Much emphasis has been placed in Britain and even in America on the dangers of Communist penetration into the Middle East. It is true that in Cairo the Russians maintain the largest legation of any country, yet the Soviet impact on the people has been negligible. Cairo has been a listening post for the Russians, rather than an effective machine for bringing about an economic or political revolution.

Britain's handling of the Middle East countries might conceivably force their inhabitants to turn elsewhere for assistance, and certainly their economic structure can only benefit by change. But the Arabs realize that drastic and sudden revolutionary upheavals such as communism would bring to them would only disrupt their economies for a hundred years.

Harry Zinder, a former Associated Press correspondent in Palestine and Time *bureau chief in Cairo, has covered the Middle East for 10 years.*

This is the second of two articles on the complicated patterns that are shaping today's blood-stained developments in the Middle East.

Typical of the Middle East's attitude toward communism has been the action of Iran and Turkey, both of which have, since 1945, rooted out of their systems in brutal fashion any tendencies toward a Center or left-wing movement. Through her heavy-handed dictator, Prime Minister Ahmed Ghavama es Saltaneh, and aided by British troops just across the border in Iraq, Iran smashed the trade-union movement, suppresed newspapers and wiped out in bloody street battles any direct opposition to the regime in control.

Ghavam, who is wily enough to run with the hares and hunt with the hounds, follows an unstated policy of doing business with the strongest power. When the Russians sat on his doorstep and threatened him, he signed an opportunist treaty which, in exchange for the Red Army's evacuation of the country, gave the Russians economic and oil concessions in the northern half of Iran. When Britain and America, working through the United Nations, moved in on Iran in an effort to protect British and American oil interests, Ghavam turned with the wind.

Ghavam holds his country in a vicious grip of dictatorship, and the intelligent youth is streaming away from Iran to France, Belgium, England and the United States. Economically, Iran is as bankrupt as any of her Arab neighbors, a factor at least partially responsible for the avarice and greed that mark the letting of economic concessions and contracts in the country.

Where communism has taken hold, if secretly, is in the Lebanon. Here underground cells are legion; here also, all of the propaganda material for the Middle East is printed on underground presses in Beirut. When the Iranian army advanced on Azerbaijan in an attempt to remove Russians and Russian influence from this irreconcilable province, the leaflets used to combat Ghavam and his troops came out of Beirut. The warlike, bearded Kurds in northwestern Iran are supplied each spring for their attacks against the government with inflammatory material by direct pipeline from Beirut.

But there has been no real political infiltration by Russia into the Middle East—and it is unlikely there ever will be. The East's philosophy and approach to life are completely opposed to the Russian way of thinking. Britain, however, continues to fear the synthetic threat of communism and feeds this fear to the Arabs in an effort to keep them in line. In the three decades that Britain has maintained her preeminent position in the East, little has been done to give the people govern-

AHMED GHAVAM ES SALTANEH

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ments that would engender economic confidence and hope, that would make possible higher standards of education, sanitation and living. The British have encouraged the rich pashas, whom they have learned they can control, to perpetuate the economic bondage in which the people of the Middle East have been held for centuries. This practice has earned Britain a few influential friends, but mass hatred for her undemocratic tactics.

Even in tortured and unhappy Palestine, the British raise the cry of communism and point sneeringly at the socialist colonization experiment as its blood-brother. Yet Communists in Palestine, both Jewish and Arab, are so few the police know them all. Furthermore, they are so divided over their own problems that they constitute no menace at all. The socialism in Palestine that Britain disparages is no closer to communism than is Britain's own Labor Party.

Only Germany was as bad

IT is in Palestine that the violence endemic to the Middle East has found its fullest expression. Britain's record of government in Palestine matches and often surpasses the most vicious and predatory in the world's history. The British began operations on the theory that Palestine was a colony of England, and year in and out disregarded the warnings, recommendations and orders of the League of Nations, which had originally confirmed England's mandate in the Holy Land. Discriminatory commercial dealings, most-favored-nation tariffs, illegal land legislation and scores of other actions prove that Britain has never been interested in a humanitarian experiment, but simply in what's best for England. When it pleased her, she patted the Jews on the head and said, "Go ahead." When the Jews displeased her, she threw a warm arm around the shoulders of the Arabs and told them to do as they wished.

The inroads of a Western progressive civilization into the romantic Eastern life of the Holy Land distress not only England but also many of the larger Arab landholders, who fear the forward move of modern techniques against their feudal, sharecropping system. Despite the fact that Jews have contributed the major portion of the £400 million Palestine paid into the British treasury during the war, and despite the fact that 25,000 Jews served in Britain's army, Britain reveals a depth of anti-Semitism inside her own country and in Palestine that has no parallel outside Nazi Germany.

Plagued by economic difficulties at home and hat in hand before the United States, proud Britain has found her scapegoat. With calculated pigheadedness, she has just sent back to former concentration camps in Germany 4,400 refugees. The use of almost a hundred thousand troops, a good portion of her Mediterranean fleet and several thousand British policemen to put down a couple of thousand irresponsible Irgun Zvai Leumi terrorists gives the measure of Britain's desperate attempt to maintain a strategic and military foothold in the East until the US has been drawn in to confirm the British position.

When the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine brought in a unanimous report—a condition Bevin imposed for Britain's acceptance—the British turned it down and blamed President Truman for their action. Although the UNSCOP mission has now completed its labors, Britain is not, despite her recent pronouncements, definitely committed in any way to either the commission's recommendation or to any decision reached by the United Nations Assembly.

The terrorism so effectively directed at the British in Palestine was suddenly publicized as racial strife when inspired "hooligans" began attacking Jews in Tel-Aviv. The wearying motif of British diplomacy in the Holy Land has been the need for a "neutral" policeman to keep the Jews and Arabs apart. Yet in every one of the serious riots that have plagued the country from 1920 on, the irritant has been the British, and they continue to be the force that leaves little peace in Zion.

At a secret meeting between government security officers and members of the Haganah, the Jewish self-defense force, the Haganah stipulated certain conditions under which it would operate independently to cut terrorism from the heart of Palestine. Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery in London refused to meet the conditions. The prestige of his army was involved; he would not allow a para-military force to attempt what his own army had failed to accomplish.

Words v. facts

NOW with the Arab League, representing seven Arab states, officially on record as opposing England's position in the Middle East, Britain is faced with a threatened uprising should she move toward solving the Palestine problem other than by way of an independent Arab state. The threat, however, is more vocal than actual, though it is being used to good effect by Britain in justifying her measures. Local military forces in the Middle East can be considered negligible by the standards of modern warfare.

¶ Egypt's army of 50,000 can supply around 10,000 good combat soldiers,

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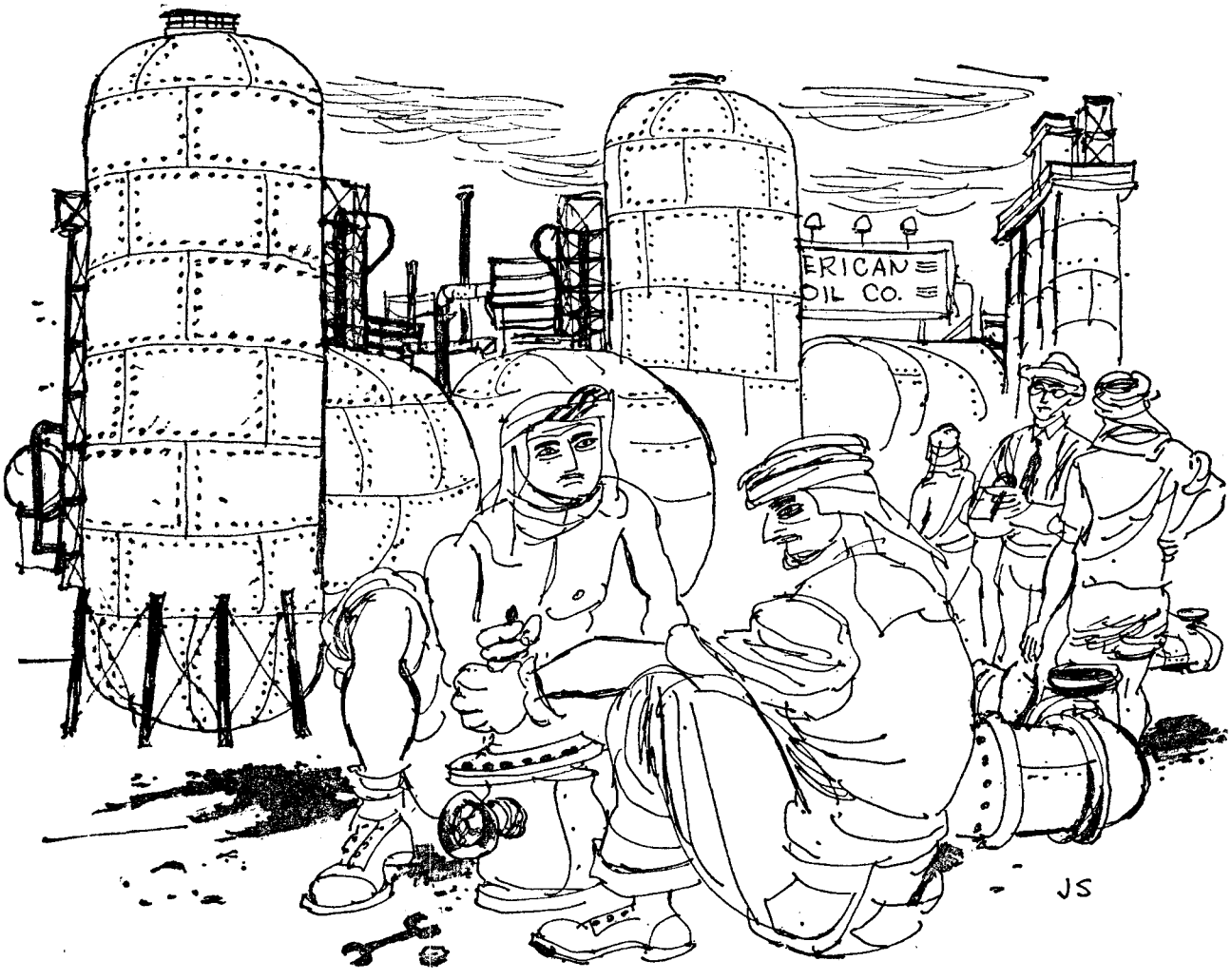

Drawings by Stefanelli

but sloth, indifference and corruption in the ranks make even that number questionable.

¶ In Palestine the Nejada and Futuwa, the two Arab "youth" movements which recently merged, can "put into the field" around 2,000 men.

¶ In Syria and the Lebanon there is nothing but a weak and lazy gendarmerie, and the two states have only begun to raise armies.

¶ Iraq has a squadron of fighter planes and a couple of British-trained infantry divisions, but little gumption to fight against either the British or the Jews.

¶ Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia is too far removed from any real contact with other states to make any gesture of military coöperation, and too dependent on his oil royalties to jeopardize his nice fat income.

¶ Yemen is laughably weak militarily and her ruler's trumpetings are but the anguished cry of a spoiled, pampered dictator whom the world is inclined to disregard.

Against such a lineup, there are the Haganah and Irgun units in Palestine, which, together, can put up 50,000 well trained young men.

An amazed general

A STRANGE aspect of this catastrophe to democratic principles in the East is the continuous amazement of British leaders at their political reverses. No one was more rocked back on his heels than General Sir Edward Louis Spears, then Great Britain's Minister to the Levant states, when the Syrians and Lebanese swept the British out, together with the French. Spears handled the explosive 1944 situation in Beirut with the delicacy and tact of a coal digger baking an angel-food cake.

In November, 1943, a week to ten days before the Big Three conferences in Cairo and Teheran, the British Ministry of Information office in Cairo alerted correspondents to the possibility of trouble in the Levant states. Two days *before* rioting actually began, the British issued bulletins about riots in Beirut and elsewhere, where "blood ran in the streets." The British-controlled Arab radio station, "Shark el Adna," broadcast lurid details of clashes at a time when nothing more serious than student demonstrations had occurred. When the French imposed a strict censorship on news dispatches, Spears blandly informed correspondents that he was willing to fly dispatches out every day to Cairo, by military plane—on condition that he be allowed to "check over" the stories first.

The French were through before they ever got started. They, too, acted willfully and in unseemly anger that exploded into the 1945 shelling of Damascus—but the British were also

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through. It was not long before the Syrians and Lebanese understood they were exchanging the French for the British, and they evicted the two foreign powers almost simultaneously. Spears clattered down to a historic defeat in his diplomacy, and now he is looked upon by his former Arab friends with considerable suspicion in his new job as head of the Anglo-Arab Union in London.

What comfort Britain can find in the Middle East at present is difficult to assess, and yet despite the vast drain on her fast dwindling resources she hangs grimly on. With India cut out of the empire, economic imperialism in the Middle East loses much of its value. Strategically, hostile states are more of a liability than an asset. Britain's sole reasons for remaining in a part of the world where she has never been liked and today is hated are her oil interests and her anti-Communist front.

Well-oiled US diplomacy

OIL has also been one of the most important determining factors of America's vague diplomacy in the Middle East. The number of billions of barrels of oil reserves has been stated so many times that it becomes obvious even to an uninitiated observer that America is allowing the oil companies to determine State Department policy. The US has consistently placated the big landowners, the unscrupulous government leaders and kings and shahs so that nothing might hurt oil leases and prospecting licenses. This has resulted in American coöperation with the British in Iraq, Palestine, Egypt and Saudi Arabia with little regard for wide differences in the two countries' objectives.

On many occasions the American government representative was called in only *after* the oil companies and the foreign government had agreed upon something. His role was simply to nod his head and say yes. This unhappy prospect of the tail wagging the dog has so influenced American thinking in Washington that when Ibn Saud requested a multimillion-dollar loan to build a railway, few people stopped to consider whether this enormous project had any economic significance for Saudi Arabia. In fact, it is designed to satisfy a kingly whim and add more to the royal treasury from Mecca pilgrims. But the loan is as good as granted.

Too many sons

THE oil companies' experience in Mexico makes them wary of "political instability," and they therefore appeal not to the people of the Middle East, but to the kings and potentates. When State Department officers speak of soft-pedaling President Truman's insistence on admission into Palestine of 100,000 refugees, they are projecting into their thinking the prospect of continued rioting that might damage the many millions sunk into the refineries and pipelines.

The American contention that Middle Eastern oil should be developed by US companies has considerable validity, since they alone have the facilities for such great projects. But there is an elementary misreading of the situation when the US attempts to entrench even more solidly leaders whose basic interest is not in their own countries but only in the personal outcome of leases, landholdings and royalties.

In Saudi Arabia, for example, US policy has been based on the fear that Ibn Saud might cancel American oil leases. Yet Ibn Saud needs America more than America needs his oil. Ibn Saud was never in a weaker position than he is today. Old and ailing, he looks forward to very little except a gradual breaking up of his kingdom and some bloody fraternal warfare. He has already designated his heir—the prince who was so lavishly entertained recently in the United States—but a king who has more than 30 sons and heaven knows how many daughters cannot expect to leave his kingdom in peace when he dies. This is something that might exercise the minds of American diplomats now.

But throughout the years the US has been content to allow its Middle East policy to follow the British pattern without much independent investigation. So long as American commercial interests were safeguarded, little thought was given to the type of administration or government in any of the Arab states. US policy has disregarded the growing tides of nationalism and the increasing strength of such neo-fascist groups as the Moslem Brotherhood in Egypt, developments which are as potentially explosive as a hungry and chaotic Europe.

The East is ripe for a vicious outbreak of violence that may be set off by a United Nations decision on either Egypt or Palestine. A dictator in the East is no less a dictator because he has oil to sell. What is primarily needed is a plan that will channel the vast incomes derived from royalties and commercial leases into greater economic welfare for the people as a whole.

The time is now

THE needs of this slowly awakening mass of people who seek necessities and freedom from subjection inside and outside their frontiers should be a paramount consideration of American policy and directives. For centuries the Middle East has been held in bondage, both political and economic, first by the Turks and then by a procession of big powers. A long-range economic plan for the Middle East would erase from the people's minds the fear of exploitation and dominance, and would give them pride of place and a tolerance they have lost completely under British handling. What they need most is economic security and political stability. For more than 30 years the British have failed to give them these primary necessities. The aid needed by the Middle East can come now only from the United States—and it must come now.

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Books in Review

Righteous Anger

LITERATURE AND MORALITY, by James T. Farrell (The Vanguard Press; $3).

It may be that James T. Farrell will be respected more as polemicist and moralist than as a creative writer. At a time when the edges of moral and ethical values have been broken or blunted as never before, Farrell has dedicated himself to reminding and delineating. It is not an enterprise to endear him to his ancient enemies of either the extreme Left or Right, and it is touched with irony on more than one level. That brashness which even his enemies respect is not so apparent here as in much of his other work; there is perhaps less gusto and certainly less anger, but these have been replaced with a kind of weary calm and a refreshing clarity.

The first and longer half of the book is devoted for the most part to essays of current importance. Dreiser's greatness, James M. Cain's special brand of phoniness, the philosophy of George Herbert Mead all require a full essay, but Farrell's principal concern is with the cinema and the manner in which it contributes to moral confusion. The second half is made up of six essays on *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina* —scholarly and perceptive, but not essentially new or original. It is Farrell as critic and reformer of the contemporary scene who is most pertinent for comment.

The most obvious irony in these essays is that of Farrell's relation to Catholicism, which he renounced some years ago. His values are largely Christian and many of them are indeed more basic than those which contemporary Catholicism and Christianity in general now stress. He is concerned with those values which the Christian tradition embodies but largely fails to put into practice. The second irony is that in his close analysis of what is or is not right—regardless of popular nomenclature—he ranks with the best theologians. The men he resembles in this respect—Suarez, Newman, Bossuet—lived for the most part in other ages and in other countries than our own. American theology, as it must perforce be called, has sunk so low that one prominent theologian, so-called, recently came up with the pronouncement that artificial insemination is basically no different from fornication and is, therefore, sinful. Another, younger, priest in the Middle West is so confused (or worse) that in a recently published book an attempt to "popularize" Catholic teaching—he refers to the tremendous sacrament of Penance as "the pause that refreshes."

Farrell is concerned with the basic verities. For this reader, at least, his value and function reach an apex of meaning in one of the less important essays, "Observations on 'The Bells of St. Mary's'." As Farrell makes brutally clear, through one of those quirks of Providence, the distortion of values in contemporary Catholicism—as popularly practised and preached—is here revealed more sharply than it could be in a dozen polemical essays. He writes:

> The praise which so many Catholics have showered on this film suggests strongly the growing hollowness of conventional morality in our time. In the film, little details indicate again and again that the new building is more important than the children who are to be trained and educated in it. The nuns and the priest . . . show themselves to be more concerned with the building than with the children. . . . Many Catholics who have praised this film do not seem to have noticed this aspect of the plot and accept this attitude on education as . . . truly healthy and moral.

It is precisely this quite unconscious acceptance of material values by dedicated people that Farrell is concerned with, a true perversion of the elect. He will not accept the defense that this is merely a "Hollywood version" of Catholicism. He expects very little of Hollywood, so little that he is no longer angry with it; he is writing specifically of the praiseful acceptance of this picture and its values by Catholics, including those members of the clergy who extolled it from the pulpit.

He finds also that "the priest and the nun act in an emotionally immature manner which fosters the use of the children as a means of keeping their rivalry alive." Here Farrell is on ground which a great many people find horrendous and even dangerous. The nuns finally get their building through trickery practised by a doctor, and Farrell adds this to the complex burden the picture carries. He writes: "The fact that the administrators of the Production Code, that critics, priests, Catholic laymen and others approved of this film is significant. . . . One can ask if they would favor such schools, educational practices and pedagogical instruction as are suggested by the real role of the children in this film."

The answer of course is no, just as the answer would be no to the question of whether or not the Church approves of usury. None the less, usurers have received papal honors. Others besides Farrell have been driven to despair, rage or worse by this phenomenon; in effect, Farrell is saying that a good intention is not enough. This reviewer once had occasion to remind Farrell himself of this and in these same pages. But neither Farrell nor a good many other people—including an increasing number of Catholics—will be stayed by reference to St. Paul's "mystery of iniquity," glibly made by some overfed curate fresh in from the race track. Anti-clericalism is growing among Catholics, an extremist answer to the anti-laicism which for decades had dominated American Catholicism in the East.

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America's ridiculous movie censorship, the Soviet Union's increasingly pathetic attempts to regiment artists, and public sensibility are other pertinent themes claiming Farrell's serious attention. "The Open City," a film whose art he admires, provides him with an unusual opportunity to analyze the adaptability of the cinema to the subtle influencing of public sensibility on a large scale. He shows how, through selectivity, which could be exercised only by an authentic artists, "The Open City" became the most persuasive sort of Communist propaganda. Its very art and subtlety are enough to have caused critical minds to excuse or be won over by its propaganda, and again we must be grateful to Farrell for reminding us of certain unpleasant truths.

His essay, "The Literary Popular Front," is about the only one of the collection that is dated. It seems likely that Farrell was aware of this, but included it to remind us that there was a time—roughly 1925-39—when a small political pressure-group was strong enough to have fine writers damned because they did not follow the party line, and some of the dreariest hacks ever to reach print were hailed as distinguished, brilliant or strong.

Possibly no one will agree with all that Farrell writes here; he would doubtless be disappointed if anyone did. His own pragmatism and materialism, his awe before Mead's rather simple philosophy, his frequently plodding manner will irritate or alienate many. But if his book does little else, it will dispel any doubt of his sincerity. Here is an honest man and one who writes with both clarity and power, literary virtues not common in his time. HARRY SYLVESTER

Harry Sylvester, the author of Moon Gaffney *and other novels, has been a frequent contributor to* Commonweal, *the liberal Catholic weekly.*

Drawing by John Mackey

JAMES T. FARRELL AND HIS WORLD

The Great Awakening

THE REVOLT OF ASIA, by Robert Payne (John Day Company; $3.50).

THE BEAR COUGHS AT THE NORTH POLE, by Robert Payne (Dodd, Mead and Company; $2.75).

FOREIGN MUD, by Maurice Collis (Alfred A. Knopf; $5).

WHEN Robert Payne wrote *Forever Asia* several years ago, it was widely praised for its poetic insight and lyric imagery. To some of us, however, the undoubted grace of the prose style was irreparably damaged by the heavy atmosphere of sentimental mysticism with which the author insisted on investing the Far East. He had forgotten the first axiom of the experienced observer of Oriental affairs: that the living, dynamic realities of awakening Asia are more stirring than the dying romantic myths. Now, in *The Revolt of Asia,* the almost terrifyingly prolific Payne has wisely returned to the actualities, and produced what is by far his most valuable and important book. As his subject, he has taken the entire field of the rising of the great, long slumbering giant of a continent against foreign colonialism and native feudalism and for racial equality, democracy and a progressive social order.

Although Payne is interested in the various national manifestations of the revolt, with particularly striking studies of its status in Indonesia, China, India and Indo-China, he is chiefly con-

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SJAHRIR

cerned with the upsurge of Asia's masses as a single phenomenon of contemporary history. It is not easy to dispute his contention that, from any long-range point of view, it is the most important event going on in human annals today, more filled with significance for the world's future than even the current "cold war" between the US and the USSR.

AMONG the book's greatest values is the way in which it indicates America's particular spiritual responsibility for that unrest, and exposes our dismal failure to take advantage of our opportunities for democratic leadership. It is, Payne says, America, not Russia, that has been the main inspiration for Asia's revolt; Washington, not Lenin, the model of Asia's democratic leaders; and the Declaration of Independence, not the Communist Manifesto, the document they chiefly cherish. Although the Chinese Communists are Marxists in theory and sympathy, and are by no means merely agrarian reformers, they know that their basis of support is the peasantry, and their policies are far closer to those of the democratic Sun Yat-sen than is the reactionary feudalism of his proclaimed follower, Chiang Kai-shek. Furthermore, there are two vital reasons why a national government in which the Chinese Reds participated, or even dominated, would be a liberal democracy rather than a doctrinaire communist state: the great need for technicians, which the Communists alone could not supply, and the growing and influential number of non-Marxist liberals who are finding the Communist Party the only political means of expression they possess.

While the Kuomintang has grown narrow and bigoted in its reaction, the philosophy and manpower of Chinese communism continue in a process of evolution, and Payne believes that we still could bring this brightest hope for China's future into friendly agreement with us, instead of driving the country into the arms of Moscow. As a matter of fact, he suspects that if we continue to repel the progressive elements in the East, they are more likely to turn to Britain than to Russia for support. The reasons are twofold. The democratic leadership of the East has been deeply impressed by England's liquidation of her empire in India and Burma, and the moderate socialism of the British is closer to Asia's sympathy than either the totalitarianism of Russia or the reactionary capitalism of America. The revolt of Asia is not only a nationalist uprising —indeed, Payne thinks, the nationalism involved can be easily overrated, and the masses of Asia are far more likely to ignore national boundaries in the interests of social and economic unity than are the nations of Europe —but a social revolt against oppression, feudalism and inequality; and democratic socialism appeals to the philosophy as well as to the needs of the increasingly articulate East.

PAYNE believes that the betrayal by the dominant clique in China of its early ideals has cost it the leadership of the New East. India might yet achieve that leadership, despite the wars of religion that are scourging her, but he thinks that Indonesia, with her intelligent leadership, tolerance, democratic village government and general socialist pattern, is at present the leading spiritual force in the revolt of Asia and is likely to continue her leadership. Korea, he adds, might well have played an important part in the Asiatic alliance, since her natural advantages could under different auspices have made her the model industrial state of the Far East, taking the place of Japan, but the ruthless, needless struggle there between the US and Russia have destroyed her great opportunity.

If Indonesia does hold her leadership in the coming society of Asia, to a great extent it will be due to the foresight, statesmanship and democratic principles of Sutan Sjahrir, whom Payne sees as the ablest and most influential man in the new state now that Soekarno, whose dealings with the Japanese made his fellow countrymen uncomfortable, has become pretty much a figurehead. Payne looks upon Sjahrir as the foremost statesman of the East and its greatest promise for the future, but he likewise sees hope in the leadership of Mao Tse-tung in China and Nehru in India, while he has convincing praise for Ho Chi-minh, many-named leader of the struggling Viet Nam Republic in Indo-China, and for the late Pedro Abad Santos, the noble-spirited agrarian reformer who was the inspiration of the Hukbalahaps in the Philippines. On the other hand, he paints a devastating portrait of the narrow, stubborn product of the orthodoxies of Confucianism and Methodism—Chiang, who stands, with Jinnah, as a hopeless anachronism.

The Revolt of Asia is impressive as well as optimistic in its account of the great promise of the Oriental renaissance, but it is not cheering in its report on America's negligence toward a hopeful world movement for which

MAO TSE-TUNG

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Title Survey of current

Drawings by Zadig

NEHRU

least this indefatigable man, who turns up every few months with a book of some kind, is also represented by a novel, *The Bear Coughs at the North Pole,* which maintains something of his older manner. The story of two melodramatic days in the lives of six assorted characters, ranging from a corrupt but wistful Russian dealer in opium and vodka and his dreamy half-Korean son, to a garrulous, old philosopher and his honest political functionary of a son in the bomb-wracked Chungking of 1939, is a gracefully written little narrative that is both interesting and dissatisfying. It has scenes of remarkable sadism most casually presented; it has Japanese air raids bathed in unreality, and melodramatic characters almost mystically regarded.

Payne writes with traces of distinction, but his story-telling and his symbolism are more mannered than effective. It is strange to note how much of the atmosphere of China he can give you, and yet how unreal he makes it. He is far more persuasively occupied in *The Revolt of Asia.*

THE PARADOX possible in books about China is most attractively indicated in Maurice Collis' *Foreign Mud,* which is—of all things—a charming, urbane and thoroughly delightful account of the opium war between China and England. Collis, an Irishman who spent 20 years in the British Civil Service in Burma, is one of the most readable of present-day historians of Eastern events. His informal history of an ugly period in British imperial history is neither cynical, indignant nor apologetic. He simply writes with an interest that is both civilized and detached, without becoming annoyingly superior, about the notorious "imbroglio at Canton in the 1830's" and lets the moral lesson speak for itself. Collis may be literary caviar, but he is a writer to be cherished.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

Private Eye

REILLY OF THE WHITE HOUSE, by Michael F. Reilly, as told to William J. Slocum (Simon and Schuster; $3).

SECRET SERVICEMEN who are assigned to protect the President of the United States have access to facts which should be interesting to the general public. So now, after *Starling of the White House,* comes *Reilly of the White House.* It picks up roughly where the other book left off—on December 8, 1941, when 33-year-old Mike Reilly took over the job of Supervising Secret Service Agent at the White House.

Reilly, as set down by William J. Slocum, is a breezier and more mercurial character than Starling, and the book reflects this. It also deals with a more dramatic period in American history than Starling's tenure. Reilly is well aware that his responsibilities were unprecedented. In addition to the usual tasks of a White House Secret Serviceman, which he describes with gusto and a cheerful, "bet-you-never-knew-that" manner, he was charged with ensuring the safety of an active but crippled man who had suddenly become "Number One Nazi Target" and who insisted not only upon traveling across the country during wartime but also journeying thousands of miles outside the continental limits of the United States to areas within uncomfortably close range of the actual fighting.

The accounts of the protective devices put up around the White House, the specially constructed wartime presidential trains, cars and planes, the emergencies and scares which were met and overcome and, above all, the intensive preparations for and precautions during Roosevelt's trips out of the country, are lively and interesting. In relating the actual events of the historic meetings, Reilly wisely keeps his book completely nonpolitical. He describes important figures merely as they appeared to him in the course of his work. Aside from a few digs at the British Secret Service and a perhaps justifiable resentment about the two occasions on which British reporters scooped the world on important stories, his verdicts are surprisingly tolerant. He has a good word to say for almost everyone from Winston Churchill and Marshal Stalin to General Patton and the Washington correspondents of American newspapers.

He admits frankly that he does not understand the Russians, but, on his own evidence, he worked easily and successfully with the NKVD at Teheran and Yalta. He cites, with obvious pride, one occasion on which eight American Secret Servicemen outdrank a party of Russians.

HIS admiration and affection for "The Boss" and his family, including Fala, are open and evident. But the book adds little that is new about the character of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Reilly is describing, not evaluating, and he is generally more interested in his own job than in anything else, which is fair enough.

The book's most serious fault is its occasionally brash and aggressively colloquial style, which must be blamed on Slocum. A great deal of the writing is slick rather than convincing. It is hard to believe, for example, that Reilly is as much of a stock Irishman as Slocum frequently makes him appear. And the recorded conversations with various British and Latin American officials, in Slocum's version, come out sounding as no Britisher or Latin American off the American vaudeville stage ever sounded.

ANNE L. GOODMAN

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Fiction Parade

THE "Negro problem" is too often conceived, even by the intelligent and sympathetic, as simply a matter of the white man's granting Negroes political and social equality. But in his new novel, *Lonely Crusade* (Alfred A. Knopf; $3), Chester Himes writes of a more personal aspect and from the other side: his own race-consciousness might be called the "Negro's problem."

As a novel, the book has many flaws. The story of Lee Gordon, a Negro union organizer in a California war plant who gets involved with the union, the employer and the Communists, is much too extended and repetitious. The drama is not so much tragically inevitable as tragically predictable. For the most part the writing is inept: *e.g.*, "Meeting Negroes eye to eye, and talking to them lip to lip, he could not help but learn."

This is unfortunate, but of secondary importance. Successfully penetrating, shocking and then depressing, is the case of Lee Gordon as the representative of his race. He is an exaggerated figure, not so much an individual as a catalogue of the Negro's emotional distortions. One could scarcely hope to find a realistic and balanced member of a race "mentally ill" from feeling "a shuddering sense of deficiency and a vague fear of being overtaken by disaster."

He is a self-acknowledged victim: "To be hurt was Lee Gordon's destiny," and "fear was the price he paid for living"—living in a world of wars in which he "gotta fight everybody . . . the white folks and the black folks, the capitalists and the Communists." Everything in life succumbs to this emotional chaos: his relations with his wife, with his friends, with his employer, with himself, and he surrenders to "being crazy in a crazy world—an idiot among idiots; all speaking in an unknown tongue."

This neurotic pattern is characteristic of our time and not of the Negro race alone. The victim is the classic modern hero; undefined, pervasive fear, emotional and physical insecurity, sexual neuroses, the abnegation of beliefs, the loss of values, a general cynicism and brutality: these are universal disasters.

The unsettling conclusion of this book is that equality is not enough for the Negro. All his life he has "learned nothing to make him proud of being a Negro and everything to make him ashamed of it." Amnesties and privileges, no matter how generous, won't annul this degradation. And perhaps the instinct is sound that suspects the healing properties of an equality which is as much a problem for the white man as for the Negro.

ELSA TRIOLET, wife of the French poet and novelist, Louis Aragon, edited an underground newspaper during the Occupation. Her most recent book, *A Fine of 200 Francs* (Reynal and Hitchcock; $2.75), subtitled "Three Short Novels of the Resistance," won the Goncourt Prize.

These stories are the best I've read among what has come to be called "Resistance Literature," and first of all for the negative reason that they are not concerned with the more flamboyant heroisms which, however authentic or admirable in themselves, seem sensationally exploited when recounted in fiction. Although several of her characters are actively involved, they are presented rather as people with their individual human problems altered and constricted under the *conditions* of occupation during the *time* of the Resistance. "The hope of peace hangs over us like a sword . . . everyone eats cold food, drinks any old concoction. . . . The danger lies not in doing this or that, but in happening to be there. . . ."

To describe the atmosphere of this time—the suspense, the daring, the exasperation—her prose style is admirably suited: quick, sharp and edgy.

IN *The Heretics* (Harcourt, Brace; $2.75) Humphrey Slater tells two stories, designed with obvious parallels, to illustrate a theme. One is laid in Avignon at the time of the Church's suppression of the Albigensian heresy; the other in Spain during the recent civil war. The theme is difficult to trace; it doesn't support the stories but it recurs in them. It is the "universal tendency to suspect sinister motives in critics," which the author localizes in the medieval Church and which he somewhat innocently finds today "only really violently manifested among Fascists and Communists." Rome's opposition to the Albigensians and Stalin's to the Trotskyists, he claims, were based on the inhuman orthodoxy that considers "policy . . . as something mysteriously superior to real individuals," and in both cases "it had the same effects."

Heresy has a kind of bogus respectability that is somehow synonymous with intellectual freedom, but it might be pointed out that the Albigensians weren't merely honest liberals up against it. If Stalinism is orthodoxy, then not only Trotsky and the Western democracies, but Hitler, too, deserves the heretical dignity; and we must admit, therefore, that the heroes are a mixed lot. In short, this rigid formula gets too tight to manipulate. But the stories in this first novel escape the confines of the theme and are remarkably interesting in themselves.

JOHN FARRELLY

Conquest of Empire

THE September issue of *Horizon*, England's leading literary monthly, contains nine items. Of the three poems, two are by the young American poet, Randall Jarrell. The third is by English-born George Barker, who has, however, spent most of the last several years in America. The political article, "Occupation of Japan," is by Noel F. Busch, an American journalist. Lionel Trilling, the American critic and novelist, contributes a long essay, "Freud and Literature." The single short story is by Robert Lowry, an American, and the one book reviewed is Karl Shapiro's *Essay on Rime*.

Horizon's editor, Cyril Connolly, announces: "A double number on the Arts in America, 160 pages, 5s., will appear simultaneously in England and the United States on 1, October."

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Labor

Convention Forecast

DURING the second week in October the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations will be about as far apart, geographically, as they can get in this country. The shoguns of the AFL will be assembled in annual convention in San Francisco; the greater and lesser bureaucrats of the CIO will be holding their own convention in Boston. It is a safe bet that, after the oratory dies, the two big union federations will not be any closer to organic merger than they were before—the distance between them on this issue is a lot greater than the distance between Massachusetts and California.

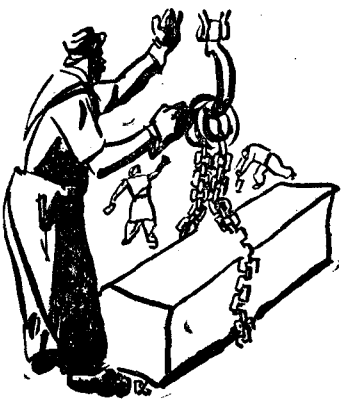
Yet the AFL and the CIO feel equally exasperated by a political climate hostile to unionism, equally apprehensive of spiraling living costs which have made a mirage of the increases in dollar wages won since 1939. The differences between the two conventions, the subtle distinctions in emphasis, will be rooted in the fundamental differences in the two organizations.

The CIO is still plagued by the Communist issue, so it is likely that the issue will erupt on the convention floor—just as it erupted earlier in preliminary conventions of the CIO affiliates—the National Maritime Union and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. The AFL is almost free of agitation about communism, since no AFL top leaders are even suspected of party-line politics.

Yet it is observable that Philip Murray has not allowed his anxiety about the Communists to tempt him this year—as it did in 1946—into suggestions that perhaps he would retire as CIO president. Instead, he has quietly thrown his weight inside the organization in support of such notably progressive non-Communists as the NMU's Joseph Curran and Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers. Murray has never forgotten that his principal job is to hold the CIO unions together. Some resolutions may seek CIO endorsement of a third political party, but these probably will be tamed down to generalizations. It seems unlikely that the convention will go further than last year's meeting, in which the famous resolution "rejecting and resisting" outside political domination of CIO unions was adopted.

THE AFL, paradoxically enough, may itself have some explosive scenes if anybody tries to push John L. Lewis into changing his one-man refusal to sign the non-Communist affidavits required by the National Labor Relations Board under the Taft-Hartley Act.

Two weeks before the convention, some small AFL unions were ominously talking about withdrawal unless Lewis reversed himself; the present interpretation of the Taft-Hartley Act by NLRB Counsel Robert N. Denham prohibits all AFL affiliates from using the labor board unless Lewis signs. But there is at least a chance that Denham will be overruled on this interpretation by the NLRB, and the deadline for compliance has been extended to October 31. Actual withdrawals from the AFL are unlikely before that time. The prospect that Lewis will release some fireworks, in denouncing the new labor law, suggests that the convention may at least be the liveliest one since David Dubinsky got slugged a few years ago in New Orleans for saying that the AFL ought to cleanse itself of its own racketeers. And if the unpredictable should occur—the retirement, at last, of president William Green and the election of Lewis, undoubtedly the AFL's ablest figure, as Green's successor—the meeting would be memorable.



Despite the gulf between AFL and CIO, there are likely to be few sharp differences in the practical recommendations of the two federations for immediate political action. The CIO's meeting probably will assay a higher average of "inspirational" speeches urging support of the PAC. But the AFL also is thinking in terms of spurring its state federations and city central-trades bodies into aggressive campaigns to get their members to the polls next November to blast the congressmen who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act.

In the field of economics and prices, there will be some differences. The AFL, which still has a hangover tradition of old-style Republican isolationism, may echo congressional mutters about Europe's "demands" on our "not inexhaustible resources." The CIO, untroubled by this pre-World War I type of thinking, is better prepared to avoid the error of supposing that America can maintain a lonely prosperity in a wretched, starving world.

PROPOSALS of the two conventions on domestic price controls should be almost identical, for the reason that no realist expects a Republican Congress to restore effective controls in an election year. The economists and policy-makers are driven, therefore, to search for such makeshifts as restoring controls only on key commodities and key channels of trade.

Neither convention has any reason to anticipate controversial or novel ideas from the formal reports of its officers; the pattern of union action in 1947 is already sharply defined by what Congress has done, and disputes about the pattern would be a luxury. The question is whether, in attempting to rally their millions, the conventions can say anything that will catch popular attention. WILLARD SHELTON

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Farm

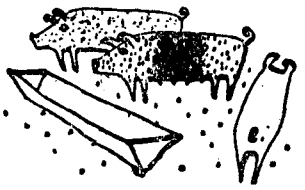
The Farmers' Mite

DURING the past few months there has been a good deal of propaganda in various magazines blaming the farmer for high prices. For example, a writer in the August 2 *Business Week* wrote: ". . . It is farm prices, and not industrial prices, that are clearly out of line." There have been stories of farmers taking trips to Europe, buying airplanes and snubbing neighbors who were driving Cadillacs or Packards more than a year old.

The purpose of this propaganda is to shift responsibility for high prices from the middlemen, speculators and processors. The housewife is told that rocketing food bills are caused by the high prices the farmers receive. The truth is that, though farmers have profited, other groups have profited more. Corporate profits after taxes this year, according to the Department of Commerce, will amount to $17.4 billion, four times as much as prewar. In 1946, the "big four" meat packers (Armour, Swift, Cudahy and Wilson) made operating profits of $122.1 million on an investment of $584.9 million—more than three times as much as before the war. Since the end of the OPA, wholesale meat prices have increased 87 percent; prices the farmer gets have increased 54 percent.

Price increases on most commodities are largely the result of high profits to processors and middlemen. Here are a few examples: In March of this year one pound of white bread sold, on the average, for 12.5 cents. Under the OPA, the same loaf sold for 9.5 cents. The farmer's share in March, 1945, was 1.8 cents; in March, 1947, it was 3.1 cents. His share had increased by 1.3 cents, but the middleman had increased the cost by 1.7 cents. In March, 1945, an eight-ounce box of corn flakes cost 6.6 cents. Of this the farmer got 1.37 cents (only 21 percent). By March, 1947, the cost of the corn flakes had increased to 9.1 cents; the farmer got only 1.7 cents, while 7.4 cents went into the pockets of the processors and middlemen.

Fresh vegetables, which have been going up despite gluts here and there across the country, are another example of middleman inflation. Under the OPA, when the housewife bought a dollar's worth of cabbage the farmer got 30 cents of it. In March, 1947, he got only 22 cents of her dollar. The farmer gets about one-third the retail price for lettuce and about half the retail price of potatoes. His share is even less on canned goods—on the average, 20 percent. Taking farm commodities as a whole, the farmer gets a little more than half of their retail cost.



RECORDS of indictments and convictions of food processors and distributors are on file in the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice. A recent one is the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company case, in which A&P and all but three of the co-defendants were fined $175,000 for violating the anti-trust laws. The Atlantic Commission Company, buying agent for A&P, is featured throughout the 1,108-page indictment. Because fruits and vegetables must move to the consumer with the utmost speed, the terminal market is a monopolist's paradise. A&P, as was shown by the indictment, dominated many produce markets, depressing the price when it chose by giving the farmers below-cost-of-production prices. A&P also dominated the sale of other commodities.

I do not mean to imply that monopolistic practices are to blame for all high prices, but I think they have been an important factor, one which the newspapers have generally ignored. And I concede that the farmer has benefited from high prices, especially in relation to his income position in 1935-39. Farm income was 11.3 percent of the national income in 1946 (people on farms constituted 19 percent of total population), the highest since 1920. But the farmer has not had equality of income since the 1910-20 period, when his share of the national income was about proportionate to incomes of the non-farm people. In 1910 his share was 15.9 percent ($5 billion of a $33 billion national income), but in the twenties his share dropped to around 10 percent and in 1932 to 7.4 percent. For the 1935-39 period, per-capita farm income was $243, while the per-capita income of those off the farm was $603. For the year 1946, per-capita farm income had increased to $779 and non-farm income to $1,288. Even in prosperous years farm income lagged far behind non-farm income.

THE only sensible way to determine a fair farm income is to use as a base a period when farmers were getting a fair share of the national income. It is absurd to base a parity income ratio and index on 1935-39, because agriculture was then making less than half its due. It is also misleading to lump all farmers together. An analysis of the 1945 census proves that we still have poor farmers in spite of wartime prosperity. In Mississippi, for the year 1944, 117,000 of the 263,000 farmers made less than $1,000, and in the prosperous state of Illinois more than 50,000 of its 200,000 farmers made less than $1,000. It is also significant that in this year 125 Illinois farmers made more than $100,000 and that in 1939 only 28 made that much.

I suspect that when magazines and newspapers talk about rich farmers, they are thinking of those in the $100,000-income brackets.

ANGUS McDONALD

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Movies

This Side of Heaven

"THE LONG NIGHT" is a respectable undertaking to which talented people have conscientiously lent themselves, but it falls of its own weight. I think Anatole Litvak, who made the memorable "Mayerling," understood "The Long Night" as a tone poem, which it is not. It is made from an original story by Jacques Viot, and Jean Gabin once starred in the French version, "Daybreak." A comparison of the two pictures recalls another French-American transmogrification whereby "Pepe le Moko" became "Algiers."

The screenplay of "The Long Night" is by John Wexley, who wrote "The Last Mile" and a play on the Scottsboro case, "They Shall Not Die." Henry Fonda, as the torn, patient Joe, waits for the police to come and get him for having killed a man he had to kill, and he is perfect in the part. The story is told in flashbacks as his confused memory floods the hours of waiting with the events preceding the murder. Barbara Bel Geddes, as the orphan who loves Joe but has been taken in by the obvious razzle-dazzle of a ridiculously slick magician, gives a touching, if not a moving, performance. She was wonderful in the play, "Deep Are the Roots," and her acting in "The Long Night" is good. But, although she looks plain enough to be a sad girl in an industrial town, and though she cries real tears, she is somehow outside the part. It is as if she were playing the idea of the girl.

Ann Dvorak, the beautiful, knowing and tired assistant of the unbelievable Maximilian, gives the performance second to Fonda's. The part of the charmer, the dream-purveying sleight-of-hand artist, is played badly by Vincent Price. It would have been more interesting if this part had been cast to refute the cliché. Price is endowed by nature for the oily roles he so consistently plays, but he becomes wearisome in them.

"The Long Night" is long and misses its high ambition, but much worse film fare is available. It was good enough for regrets.

THERE are some beautiful production numbers, some lavishly staged dances, in "Down to Earth." They are to be found in all such movie musicals, of which this is little better than an average example. Rita Hayworth, whose face is violated by an almost archaic make-up, dances with real grace and doesn't, for reasons partly her fault, act worth a hoot. Larry Parks ("The Jolson Story") is less talented than she, and is overshadowed by a vivid person named Marc Platt. He, with James Gleason, arrests attention that should be distributed evenly throughout the mixture. Don Hartman produced the show and collaborated on the book, and he has worked into it everything he could think of. This includes the gambler machine-gunned from a speeding car, that overworked Heavenly Messenger (Edward Everett Horton again) and Mr. Jordan. The latter is played, with a calm to end all serenity, by Roland Culver.

A good deal of "Down to Earth" is laid in Heaven, and the proceedings are governed by the movie laws obtaining there. I've been to The Good Place several times lately, notably in "Stairway to Heaven," and the only fun I get now is walking around ankle-deep in that cloud-stuff. It's a little difficult to define the precise religious persuasion of Heaven in this case, but one of the inhabitants is Terpsichore, who is discovered in a state of outrage at being inadequately aped in a rehearsing Broadway show. She comes down to earth to show the mortals how to stage their fantasy and so messes up the proceedings that the venture dies out of town. In the end, she lets Larry Parks have his own way and the show becomes the hit of all time. She's dragged off just as things are shaping up nicely, but they get together again for the heavenly finale by dint of some rather summary homicide on the part of Mr. Jordan.

Alexander Hall, the director, is a believer in wind machines and once, in a good, gay scene, he used them to advantage. The other times, they just made everyone look blown and foolish.

SHIRLEY O'HARA

FLASHBACKS

THE ROOSEVELT STORY—The documents of this picture are superb; the execution is deplorable. Fortunately for us, the genius of Roosevelt is intractable. It's a great picture.

FRIEDA—A spuriously impressive but well staged British film about a German bride in an English village.

CROSSFIRE—An engrossing movie, ideal in conception, workmanship and casting. Please note: this is as good as the foreign films that have been taking the honors these last few weeks.

I KNOW WHERE I'M GOING—The best of the new British imports; a lyric story of love in the Hebrides.

BLACK NARCISSUS—The Himalayas are background for a beautiful picture treating of the experiences of a small group of Protestant sisters who battle the elements and the perversity of human nature.

THE SECRET LIFE OF WALTER MITTY, with Danny Kaye—Dull in spots, but, on the whole, imaginative and amusingly zany.

KISS OF DEATH—Better than most of the treatments of that old story about the squealer who gets his comeuppance.

ODD MAN OUT—James Mason and an extraordinarily good cast in a picture not so good as John Ford's "The Informer," but not to be missed.

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Radio

Of Time and Sex

WHEN broadcasting lets me down, I turn to Radio, and if I dial selectively (and luck's with me) Radio rarely disappoints me. By "broadcasting," in this context, I mean the business side of the business—which begins with dollars and cents and ends in the recent sorry spectacle of the National Association of Broadcasters convention. It was to get rid of that NAB hangover that I tuned beyond the call of the networks, turning to the local stations when there wasn't enough substance on the webs. The listening was magnificent.

Not only did I hear some extraordinary programs; I also noted that radio, when it has the courage, can lick two of its most implacable enemies. One is sex. You know that radio's level of sex discussion is on a plane even lower than Hollywood's. You also recognize that broadcasting carves radio into 15-minute segments, and never, never permits it to go beyond an hour's duration except for such notoriously long-hair stuff as the opera or the Philharmonic.

Now I have heard talk of sex on the radio that neither sniggers nor evades. And I have heard several programs, on two stations, go 'way beyond the hour. One ran over an untraditional 27 minutes, 18 seconds. Another played for an hour and 50 minutes. The first, it's true, was long-hair enough: Euripides' "The Trojan Women." But the other was a popular medley.

It was WOV (New York) that breached the sex ban. Once in a while, other stations take the same chance—and invariably get away with it, if they use sufficient showmanship braced with sincerity of purpose. For instance, over a year ago WEEI (Boston) ran a series of programs entitled "Sex Guidance for Youth," discussing what was prissily called by the trade press "delicate social subjects." WOV went a step further and in its series on "The American Family" tackled the subject of infertility as a cause for divorce. As of this writing, WOV is still on the air.

But to violate broadcasting's code of puritanism is a matter for moralists. It's the accounting department's business when radio dares to forget that programming is done in 15-minute segments and must never exceed specifically limited periods. Two New York stations, WNEW and WNYC, threw their clocks away.

WNEW did it for a special "Salute to the Freedom Train." It was a recorded program and included readings by Orson Welles; "The Lonesome Train," by Millard Lampell and Earl Robinson, with Burl Ives as soloist and a chorus directed by Lyn Murray; Bing Crosby and the Andrews Sisters in the Irving Berlin song dedicated to the "Freedom Train"; Paul Robeson singing "Ballad for Americans"; and the Hy Zaret-Lou Singer arrangement of Howard Fast's "Patrick Henry and the Frigate's Keel." The show started at 9 in the evening and lasted until 11, with interruptions for only two "must" five-minute newscasts on the half-hour. Nine sponsors were kicked off the air (and $750 was kicked back to them) to make room for the cavalcade. I think that's enterprise.

UNFORTUNATELY, I don't know of another station in the country that's scheduling anything like those 1:27:18 shows being run by WNYC (New York). The Euripides piece is only one item on that program. There are five in all, the others being Rostand's "L'Aiglon," Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler," Marlowe's "Doctor Faustus" and Shaw's "The Man of Destiny," and none of them is paced to Bulova watch time. WNYC got them, transcribed, from the British Broadcasting Corporation, where originally they were part of the BBC's "Third

Christ. *God, Man or Myth?*

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There is little reason, even financial, why many stations could not run these BBC shows. An independent station scheduling the series opposite its local network competitor could pull a vast audience. Such a station rarely sells its time on nights when its network competitor broadcasts a top comedy show, because the advertiser knows that the big comedy show pulls, let us say, a Hooper of 24 against the independent's rating of two or three. But a 24-Hooper means that 76 percent of the area's listeners are not tuned to the expensive show. It would be good business for the non-network to put on a show like the BBC series, and perhaps cop the equivalent of a 10-Hooper.

BEFORE I emerge from my New York provincialism, I must make a bow also in the direction of another local, WMCA. Among the radio cognoscenti, this outlet is known for its public-service programs. One of these is "New World A-Coming," which is now back (starting October 7) for its fourth season. "New World" began as a program dramatizing the so-called "Negro problem." It grew into the very avant-garde of radio, dealing with the problems of all minority groups in the United States.

As a warm-up for "New World," WMCA put on a superb show called "Exodus 1947." These WMCA shows could also be had by stations outside New York, if enough of them ordered transcriptions and paid nominal fees.

A subject similar to the "Exodus 1947" theme was handled by NBC's "The Eternal Light" (Sundays, 12:30 p.m.) in a show called "The Undeterred," from a script by Morton Wishengrad, documenting the conditions under which Palestine-bound

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Jews are imprisoned on the island of Cyprus. Again "Eternal Light" proved itself one of the best network series in its category.

CBS came through with an excellent show, "The Time Is Now," devoted to the plea that the United Nations be given a chance. Alan Sloane, as one of radio's fine new serious writers, did his best to preach his theme dramatically. Norman Corwin produced and directed, with the help of Gregory Peck as narrator. All labored valiantly and well. If the result was not the happiest, look to Lake Success. SAUL CARSON

Bandwagon

In War, Prepare for Peace

"If we had pursued a different policy in the last year or two of the last war, Russia wouldn't be in the strong position that it is today." – *Senator Robert A. Taft, as quoted by the New York* Herald Tribune.

Try Again

5 NEW ATOMS SPLIT,
USELESS FOR BOMBS

–*Headline in the New York* Times.

The Better Half

Dr. Bauer condemned the type of publicity which appeared at the start of the recent war to the effect that 50 percent of America's youth was not fit for military service.

"It would have been much better news to show that 50 percent of the youth was fit for service." – *From the Portland, Oregon,* Journal.

Gamut-on-Hudson

Among Westchester communities Tarrytown is, I believe, democratic to an unusual degree. It has its slums; it is surrounded by huge estates with castle-like halls. Some Westchester villages are divided largely between "upper" and servant-gardener class. But Tarrytown has every gradation from the idling river-front ne'er-do-well to John D. Jr. – *From the New York* Times Magazine.

Where Is Thy Sting?

Glamor has invaded the fly-swatter field with the creation of an all-plastic swatter which perfumes the air as it kills the flies. – *From the San Francisco* Chronicle.

Full Stop

Korean Impasse
Brings Deadlock
Over Stalemate

– *Headline in the Norfolk, Va.,* Pilot.

Man of Distinction

It is believed that Mr. Rankin [Representative John E. Rankin (D, Miss.)] can outstrip any of his opponents in emulating the bombast of Mr. Bilbo. His record of championing white supremacy over the years overshadows the reputations of other candidates in that field. – *From the New York* Times.

Normalcy

The nation should not be "too much disturbed" by wage demands of workers traditionally in low-income brackets. These people, he [Senator Ralph E. Flanders (R, Vt.)] said, "never catch up." – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Definition

No such denial was made by Earle, former Pennsylvania Governor.

"If by 'warmongering'," he said, "he [Vishinsky] means I advocate using the atom bomb on Russia, he is absolutely right." – *From the New York* Daily Mirror.

Cold Comfort

"You're having a scourge here," said a speaker. "You see colored real-estate agents scurrying up your streets. It's too bad you can't take a nice healthy club or a crowbar and lay them in the gutter where they belong. But our only redress is in the courts." – *From a report of a meeting of the Dahlgren Terrace Citizens' Association, in the Washington* Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

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Music

Digging for Swing

GEORGE AVAKIAN, whose name has appeared in this column more than once, is probably the country's foremost authority on old jazz records. As such he is responsible for Columbia's Hot Jazz Classics series, which in the past few months has offered albums and single records made in happier days by some of the biggest names in jazz. This department is the result of work that started in 1940, when Avakian was given the run of Columbia's Bridgeport plant, in the hope that by putting in order a masterfully jumbled filing system he would uncover hot-jazz records that had been gathering dust there for many years.

Avakian's Columbia reissues bring back many records that are otherwise almost impossible to find today. Every now and then he hits the jackpot with a previously unreleased master, and his discovery of eight forgotten Ellington sides was as big an event to hot-jazz fans as the unearthing of a new set of dinosaur tracks would be to people in another field of endeavor.

Avakian's career as a record researcher really began in 1937 at Yale, where he met Marshall Stearns, founder of the United Hot Clubs of America, one of the first hot-jazz organizations to reissue classics (some of the fine UHCA reissues are themselves fast becoming collectors' items). Largely under Stearns's influence, he became interested in what some people call the Chicago style, and in 1939 persuaded the Decca people to let him round up the foremost exponents and put their collective efforts on wax. After 10 months and two trips to Chicago he produced the Chicago Jazz Album, the first book of originals to be made in this country. It was a sellout, and Avakian looked forward to making three more albums featuring musicians from New Orleans, Kansas City and New York. However, Decca took a yank at the pursestrings and Avakian went over to Columbia, where he collaborated with John Hammond on the first reissues the company put out.

Cato

THE war interrupted his career for nearly five years, although he managed to keep in touch while studying Russian at Harvard (the Army, with customary logic, sent him to the Pacific) and winning a battlefield commission on Mindanao. He'd scarcely returned to the States before he had Kid Ory and his old-time gang lined up for a Columbia contract. The result was the Kid Ory New Orleans album, which appeared last spring and sold out before Avakian could steal a copy for himself. On the basis of that success he talked Columbia into reviving the Hot Jazz Classics series, and since then he's been buried in dust and masters. He says the Bridgeport ore is rich if you know where to dig for it, and he hopes to maintain a steady flow of records that most of us have given up trying to find.

The latest (and very possibly the best) in the revived Hot Jazz Classics series is the Bessie Smith album (Columbia C-142), featuring eight sides made by the warm-hearted, extrovert "Empress of the Blues." The book includes two previously unreleased masters, as well as background notes by Avakian and a striking photograph of Bessie. CHARLES MILLER

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The Press in Europe

The German Conscience

IN MEMORIAM. – September 14 was Opfer des Faschismus (Victims of Fascism) Day in Germany. For the first time since Allied armies smashed Hitler's empire, anti-fascist organizations of all four occupation zones joined forces to honor the 11 million who were murdered in Germany. German press reaction to this macabre "memorial day" shows a curious contrast between rightist and leftist concepts of German guilt.

Sonntag, Russian-licensed political journal, dedicates its entire issue to Victims of Fascism. A front-page editorial censures recent quibbling in the "reactionary" press as to whether Jews, "persecuted for their religion rather than for their political beliefs," can rightly be considered victims of fascism, and protests indignantly against those who "would pervert the very concept by claiming that *all* Germans are such victims, since, having lost the war, all have been more or less dragged into an abyss."

The Russian-licensed women's weekly, *Für Dich,* editorially admonishes German women for complaining because victims of fascism receive a few grams more food daily than the average German who fared well under Hitler. This reparation should be "a self-evident duty for all who have not lost their honor as Germans," concludes the editorial.

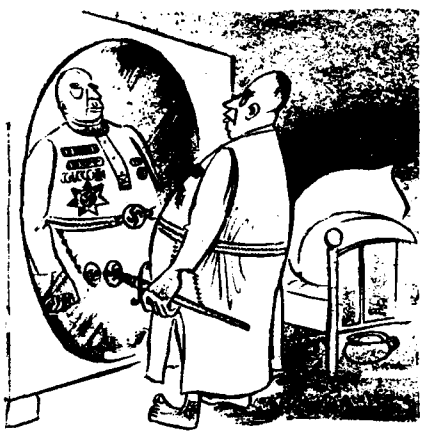
Start, also Russian-licensed and dedicated to youth, leads with a three-column article by Rosemarie Knop, "Never Forget It." The writer recalls how German youngsters lived, loved and laughed in carefree abandon under Hitler even though they sensed that "somewhere in Germany things were happening of which it was better not to know." Then came the end of the war. Ruin. Standing face to face with the crude realities of past and present. The world at large absolved German youth of guilt. But there were those among them who found it difficult to forgive themselves. Humiliated and sobered, they took on the long task of atonement, hoping to "wipe the sign of Cain from the brow of the German people.

"But democracy has difficulties finding a haven in Germany," says the article. There is nostalgic talk about the days "with Hitler" when there was plenty to eat; Jewish cemeteries are defiled; memorials to Victims of Fascism are smashed. "Who are the perpetrators?" the writer asks. "Germans. And who the partners in crime? We. Because we are disunited, because workers permit themselves to be played off one against the other, because we remain silent when stupidity or malevolence, fascism or reaction raise their heads. . . ."

The article ends with a reminder: "We are powerless when British soldiers club Jewish men, women and children off ships in Hamburg, but we are not powerless when graves are desecrated and anti-fascists maltreated. Let us use our power, lest it be wrenched from us as it was from our fathers."

Western-zone counterparts of these weeklies show the following score for covering Victims of Fascism Day:

Sie, American-licensed, for women: no mention.



Berliner Illustrierte

"At night, I can still be a man . . ."

Illustrierter Telegraf, British-licensed, general news: no mention.

Jugend Telegraf, British-licensed, for young people: no mention.

German dailies received in the US to date show a similar, though not so drastic, discrepancy. Russian-licensed newspapers, weighted with photographs, drawings and articles, recall the horrors of concentration camps; the western-zonal press gives only cursory attention to both memorial day and the events preceding it.

WHO'LL BITE? – When decartelization smashed the I. G. Farben octopus into 51 concerns, the US Control Commission's Richardson Bronson announced that Germans could now proceed to purchase the individual plants, says a report in the Free German Trade Unions' daily, *Tribune.* But "there are only two groups of buyers left in Germany today," comments the paper. "One has a clean vest but no money; the other has plenty of money but is made up of badly compromised Nazis. So the question is: who will acquire these million-dollar concerns. Nazis with fat bankrolls, or US front-men who are already buying up sheafs of German stocks for US trusts?"

AFL OR CIO? – That is the choice confronting Dr. Kurt Schumacher, Britain's protégé and head of the SDP (Social Democratic Party), according to an editorial in the French-licensed Berlin journal, *Der Kurier.* Invited by William Green to attend the AFL congress in the US, Dr. Schumacher's acceptance "temporarily places him on the side of one of two rival American labor unions," says the paper, adding apologetically that it is of course "not known what Schumacher's decision might have been had the CIO invited him first."

Vorwärts, the leftist daily, uses Schumacher's trip to attack William Green as a "union leader dear to the hearts of employers who . . . 10 years ago called for closer coöperation between the AFL and the American Legion, which is a receptacle for all

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STATE OF NEW YORK } ss.
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Daniel Mebane, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The New Republic and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form to wit:

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Business Manager, Daniel Mebane,
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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is 53,056.

DANIEL MEBANE,
Signature of Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 12th day of September, 1947.

MARIAN T. KEENAN, Notary Public.
My commission expires March 30, 1947.

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that is reactionary to the bones in the USA."

HOPE.—A dispatch in the Russian-licensed *Berliner Zeitung* says that German camp guards at the SS internee camp in Goggingen are busy collecting "certificates of good behavior" signed by their SS charges. The documents certify that the guard in question has at all times "behaved decently and generously" toward the SS internees. When questioned, the guards explained that they wanted these certificates because "the increasing number of former Nazis now gaining high administrative posts suggests that such proofs of political reliability will be useful when seeking employment in the Germany of tomorrow."

Berliner Zeitung

The same *Berliner Zeitung* reports from Hamburg: "On October 1, British Military Government will set free all war criminals now held in British-zone camps whose crimes were committed in Allied countries, unless said criminals are claimed by the interested nations before that date."

EVA PUTNAM

Correspondence

One World

SIR: . . . The *New Republic* is the best magazine of fact I have yet had the good fortune to read.

. . . My copy is widely read here, and it finally goes to a township in Victoria, 1,500 miles away, to a lady who is doing all she can to promote peace, through understanding.

Brisbane, Australia G. BRUCE WORLAND

Southern Tragedy

SIR: In answer to George I. Fullerton's letter in a recent issue, may I state that his attitude toward the Southern Negro is the great tragedy of the South.

As a fellow Floridian and a fellow grove owner employing Negro help, it is my opinion that if Mr. Fullerton and his ilk would stop worrying about "his" Negro's illnesses, births and jail fines and start concentrating on "his" Negro's schooling, housing situation and position as a second-class citizen, he would soon be relieved of his "white man's burden.". . .

Orlando, Fla. I. HAMMER

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JUNE HAVER • MARK STEVENS
'I Wonder Who's Kissing Her Now'
In TECHNICOLOR
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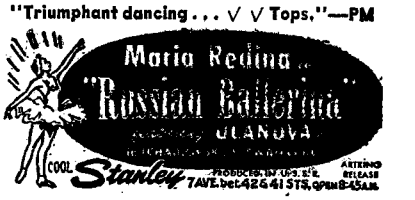
"Triumphant dancing . . . V V Tops."—PM


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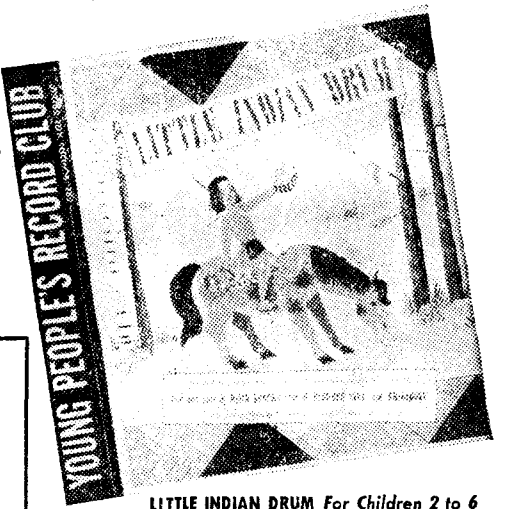

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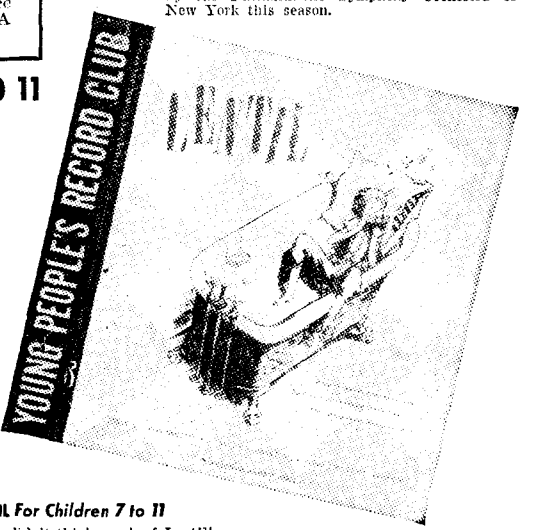

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